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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

It is too early to reach any conclusion as to what the effect of the German submarine war on our shipping will be. We warned people not to be deceived by the loose talk indulged in by the light-headed "optimists", that the whole thing was merely yet another example of German "bluff" or "frightfulness"; and it is now very clearly shown that the threat was not bluff at all. We have lost in all-at the time of writing this, Friday evening-eleven merchant ships through mines and torpedoes since the new form of warfare started. Obviously, if we continued to lose at this rate, or at anything like this rate, the matter would be exceedingly grave. Do let us all look things straight in the face, instead of idiotically pretending that we cannot see in front of our noses when there is anything there which looks disagreeable; it will pay us far better to do so, and it will pay us quicker.

It is, then, as we have said, too early to judge yet what the effect of the new warfare will exactly be: the whole thing is entirely new, so that expert and inexpert opinions are alike vague or in doubt. But our own view, for what it is worth in such a matter—not, we must admit, a great deal—is that the rate of loss, certainly heavy to start with, will soon begin to die down. Our merchant ships will quickly, we think, become more skilled in evading the enemy in this new form. Stricter regulations will be enforced, and arming our mercantile marine against submarines may become practicable.

We suppose it may fairly be claimed that this is one of the incidents of war which could not have been fore-seen by the Government. Very likely that is true. But, on the whole, in how few vital matters can such a claim be made on behalf of our Ministers! We sometimes wonder and ask ourselves did they foresee, did they take precautions, in any mortal matter in regard to Germany and the war of aggression which Germany in so many words announced to them in 1912-as Mr. Asquith has frankly told us—she meant to wage in order that she might dominate Europe? It is true they were baited, badgered, batooned, as it were, by

a vigilant Opposition into keeping the Navy up to a high standard. But what other precaution did they take beyond doddering along—there is no other word for it—with completely futile little titbits of brotherly love and friendship to Germany? Offering such titbits of brotherly love and friendship to a Power like Germany was as useful as offering these blessings to a ravening tiger out for flesh and blood. How in the name of common sense did they not perceive at least that extremely obvious fact? that extremely obvious fact?

The Russian official despatches which describe the late fighting in Poland leave no doubt at all that the retreat from East Prussia of February the 13th to February the 22nd will rank with the retreat of the British from Mons. More especially the 20th Corps, after it was strategically lost, persisted to the last cart-ridge in forcing a way through the enemy. The forests of the Augustowo, through which two regiments succeeded in breaking, are for the Russian soldier immortally a "bed of honour". We read of this corps as "valiantly repelling attacks on four fronts; holding on to its artillery and taking along with it many German prisoners".

The heroism of war, unless it can command an utterance such as Mr. Thomas Hardy's verses upon Albuera-verses that move upon feet of wrought steel -lives best in the brief, formal reports of the official despatch. Sir John French's despatch from Mons is an imperishable English document. paragraphs from its Russian fellow: Here are two

"Communication between this corps and the 10th Army having been broken in the evening of 13 February, the corps found itself in the country between Goldap and Suwalki surrounded by a German army whose numbers were constantly increased until the 22nd. The corps fought heroically against enemy forces several times outnumbering it. During these days it marched 50 versts (about 32 miles) fighting the whole time, and continued to force a passage for itself towards the south-eastern portion of the forests of Augustowo."

"According to the accounts of prisoners, the corps

inflicted heavy loss on the German forces which attempted to bar its way, especially in the lake and forest passes near Ghita. Reports that have now been received from various individuals belonging to this corps who succeeded in escaping show that the corps was fighting to the last cartridge."

The full despatches from Petrograd in which the nature of the late reverse is clearly stated show that we accurately measured the importance of this grave event. We have often had to describe the strategical deadlock in Poland and East Prussia—a deadlock that naturally ensues from a series of campaigns that are fought between two railway systems. The advance of the Russian armies towards the German frontier is like the advance of a pugilist who follows the ball he has just punched. Even as he advances the ball is ready to spring back at him. The statement of the Grand Duke is full of railways. The Germans were enabled to deal him a mighty blow—because they were near to their railways. The Russians were unable to sustain it because their railways were far to the rear. We said last week that the serious implication of the reverse in Poland lies in the proof it gives, if proof were needed, that the punch of the German armies, acting upon their own frontier, is as deadly now as it was at the start of the war.

The position in Poland is, happily, two-edged. The German thrust has ended before in exhausting its momentum at the Niemen, whereas Russia, by retreating to Russian soil, is strengthened. The German advance seems now to be held, and Warsaw is yet saved. But the German advance has again brought necessary prestige to the German military machine. Six months of bitter warfare on two vast fronts bring us face to face with an enemy as yet unmoved in France and Belgium, while in Poland she has yet to be reduced to the defensive.

The bombarding of the forts of the Dardanelles is the first move in an enterprise of great importance and of difficulty. The results of the opening of the Dardanelles would not end with releasing the corn and oil of Russia. It is important to open a southern way for Russian exports; but the fall of Constantinople would do more than that. It would transform the whole position in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean. Its effect would be felt all through the East. The attack upon the Dardanelles is, indeed, of so great a consequence to the Allied Powers that serious and prolonged operations are entirely justified. The first rule of war—that no strength should be wasted on secondary objects—does not apply to Constantinople.

The Dardanelles are intimately involved with the fortunes East and West of the Allies. We may be sure that the importance of the Dardanelles has not escaped the German officers who for four months have had time to barricade the gates of the East. This is no light or casual task which the Allied Fleets have entered upon. It is nothing less than the conquest by land and sea of one of the strongest natural defensive positions in the world. We must not expect a speedy and facile accomplishment of this undertaking. Having decided that it is a necessary movement, we can have no doubt that our leaders are prepared to carry it through with whatever forces, naval and military, are needed. There can be no question of under-equipping or under-manning an expedition whose success or failure involves so much. We may shortly see the Dardanelles become one of the most interesting of the regions of war. We can reasonably predict that there will shortly be more than a "certain liveliness" in the Ægean.

It is important to be clear on the subject of Germany's supply of food. Germany is in no peril of starvation. According to the official figures Germany can live

abundantly for eleven months of the year upon her own bread. These figures are not altogether to be received at their documentary value; but they dispose of a good deal of the thoughtless talk we hear of starving Germany out within a few months or so. There is no hunger in Germany yet. There is a need for strict economy and management; there is discomfort and uneasiness. But, as Professor Ashley insisted the other day to the Society of Arts, there is no reason to "expect any dramatic breakdown of the whole German economic organisation".

The people of Germany have been put upon rations in regard to bread—an event which shows the German Government resolved to leave nothing to hazard. This is not desperation; it is the customary prevision of a Government which has studied war in every detail for a generation. The German people seem quite ready to accept their bread-tickets without panic or grumbling; and this means that the German people are doggedly set upon a long and a hard fight. Any splendid vision they may have had of a rush to Paris and a quick thrust at the heart of Russia is now surrendered. The quiet submission of the Germans to a state of siege, far from suggesting to the careful observer any speedy end to the war, points in quite another direction. It points to the cardinal fact of the war, so far as it concerns the German people—the fact that they are united and ready to suffer unshaken any privations it may bring.

The official German figures as to foodstuffs are too optimistic to be trusted. The German Government obviously does not trust them. On paper Germany can live indefinitely on her own supplies. All but ten per cent. of German bread-corn is grown in Germany, and the balance, on paper, can be made up out of potatoes. But these calculations, as Professor Ashley shows, apply only to times when Germany is importing sixty per cent. of her fodder. Restrict the importation of fodder and either the bread-corn areas must be limited or many of the Germans must be asked to live by bread alone. Moreover, there is always a large personal equation of error in harvest figures. Germany is not starving; but the German Government is anxious. It is not altogether sure what the effect will be of a prolonged siege. At any rate it is accepting no risk at all. The smooth, swift way in which it has undertaken to feed the whole country with food-tickets is yet another instance of Germany's genius for management upon one side and of docility on the other.

Mr. Lloyd George told the House of Commons on Tuesday that there is at present no idea of floating a joint loan, even for the smaller States. The joint loan was a weak point in the arrangements discussed at the late financial conference. A joint loan cannot be raised without disadvantage to one or other of the parties. Quite possibly it may mean loss to all concerned. We discuss this matter elsewhere. The other points of Mr. Lloyd George's speech were hardly controversial. The arrangements to ease the present financial blockade of Russia are admirable. The financial position of the Allies is now almost unassailable. Mr. Lloyd George's cheerful view is not unreasonable. Speaking for Great Britain alone, he is entirely correct in claiming that our gold reserve is equal to any demand that is likely to be made upon it.

We can only describe a statement of Sir Thomas Whittaker, M.P., in this House of Commons debate on finance as a deplorable statement: namely: that "it is cheaper for us to help Russia to raise and equip three, four or five million more men than for us to provide and equip anything like that number ourselves". Great Britain, forsooth, is to buy her victory over or deliverance from Germany in hard coin! It is "good business" for our men of fighting age and physique to stay at home and pile up the money bags and to pay Russia to shed the blood of her manhood for us! If we faced the war in that spirit, or in any-

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thing like it, we should go down and go under as a nation, and we should richly merit our fate.

We are happy to print to-day a second communica-tion from Mr. Coulton on the raising of our armies. Mr. Coulton, ordinarily, would perhaps not be quite at home in the SATURDAY REVIEW, so far as politics are oncerned; indeed he is well known to be a strong Liberal. But on the question that supremely matters to this country to-day he is out of favour with his Party, his arguments and logic being rather too strong and convincing to gratify the so-called voluntarists. We find it something of a privilege to print so powerful a letter as his.

We have felt warm sympathy with what Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Selborne have urged, in the House of Commons and the House of Lords respectively, as to Court Martials and the Navy: the Court Martial is the splendid old historic tradition of that Service, and we greatly dislike the idea of abandoning or leaving it in abeyance. We have been reticent in this matter only because we wished not to say the smallest word likely to convey a doubt about the efficiency and great worth of the Navy. But Lord St. Aldwyn set this matter in exactly the right light in his short speech this week in the House of Lords; and we hope now the custom will be quietly resumed. By the way, we are astonished that the Government at this time do not try to secure the immense experience and practical wisdom of a statesman like Lord St. Aldwyn: why do they not, for example, put the dangerous Welsh Church question of the moment into his hands? In the terribly difficult position the Government finds itself to-day it cannot afford to do without the experience and understanding of any statesman because he is not of its particular party colour. The Govern-ment will certainly wreck itself if it insists on a policy of Cabinet conceit.

The riot reported this week at Singapore is of no political or military importance. Its importance begins and ends in the unhappy death of the gallant officers and men who faced the mutineers. The mutiny was purely a regimental affair—the sudden running wild of men with a departmental grievance.

Everyone will approve of the Bill introduced by Sir John Simon on Tuesday to give the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge powers to meet the difficulties that are arising out of the War. These difficulties are due, of course, to the great part Oxford and Cambridge have chosen to play in the making of the new armies. Two-thirds of the men at Oxford and Cambridge are with the Colours, commoners, scholars, and fellows. This means that for the time being the finances of the Universities are entirely disorganised. The Universities are quite ready to meet all this disorganisation and loss. They are not asking for money from the Treasury or the taxpayers. But they require to be able to make the best arrangements practicable for the setting in order of their finances; and this the new Bill will enable them to do. Certainly Oxford and Cambridge deserve every help that can be given them

The Government's aniline dye scheme, debated in the House of Commons on Monday, has few friends and many critics. This strange plan falls between many stools. It was criticised on the ground that either the Board of Trade should not have intervened at all or should have intervened more effectually. Mr. Runciman had an explicit and convincing answer to those who desire the Government to do nothing at all, but none to those who censure the Government for not doing enough. The scheme, however, is to proceed, although even under pressure from the Board of Trade not half the necessary capital has been subscribed. No security is to be given to the subscribers that their products will not be undersold by Germany after the war. Indeed, the Board of Trade specifically declare

that if the users of aniline dyes who have pledged themselves to purchase from the British producers for five years find they can buy more cheaply from Ger-many their pledge is thereby annulled.

The pledge, therefore, is no pledge, and the Government is still bound to the formula of buying in the cheapest market, despite its recognition of the necessity of encouraging this particular industry. The two things are self-contradictory, but the industry will apparently have to do the best it can during the war, and hope for better conditions after. A little more and hope to better contains after. A fitte more courage, and the Board of Trade might have achieved a great work for British industry; as it is, it has allowed itself to be ruled by words and phrases. The Government has here surely been guilty of folly and perversity. Mr. Asquith's statement that he speaks during the war as a man of business and not as one acting from political prejudice appears in the light of this debate as a flourish merely. The debate on aniline dyes this week shows that the Government is still playing the game of Yellows and Blues, still disingenuous and thinking of lobbies and the Radical coccyx.

Our notice is drawn to a singular correspondence tween the "British Weekly", the "Daily between the "British Weekly", the "Daily Chronicle" and Mr. John Lane, as to a translation of Sven Hedin's new book on the war, which the Bodley Head is shortly to publish. Sven Hedin is a Swede who favours Germany and is petted by the Kaiser and who favours Germany and is petted by the Kaiser and his War Staff. The two papers mentioned have therefor concluded, it seems, that Sven Hedin's book ought not to be issued here, and it is hinted that Mr. John Lane is—very nearly—trading with the enemy. Apparently it is quite patriotic to publish Bernhardi's books or to publish Treitschke's; but it is the opposite to publish Sven Hedin's. But why is it all right to publish the enemy pure and simple, yet all wrong to publish the neutral-enemy?

The riddle is too hard, and we give it up. Probably it is one of those riddles which have no answer—like the one in Frank Stockton's tale, "The Lady and the Tiger". A singular confusion of thought prethe Tiger. A singular confusion of thought prevails over many of these questions, literary and other, touching on the War; and perhaps is especially noticeable among perverts, who before the war could not find a term endearing enough to apply to the Germans, and now cannot find a term half severe enough to apply to the Germans. As for Sven Hedin's book, we shall read it, as we read Bernhardi's; and it is quite a useful thing for English people to hear what set call the enemy's pet is "up to". not only the enemy but also the enemy's pet is "up to". Whether the Swedish people and their Government will quite enjoy the publication of Sven Hedin's book for the reading of this country is quite another matter: it is conceivable that they will wish he was in Siberia—a traveller, or even a State guest there.

Sir William Eden died this week, and we think that we had better, for tribute to his gifts and disposition, rest content with the few words spoken of him by a friend in the Review this week. He was, of course, being a man of fastidious taste and rare refinement in many things, quite misunderstood. The stereotyped old faded stories about Whistler in connection with him only serve to give quite a false impression of the man.

"Is thy cause of comfort failing? Rise and share it with another,

And through all the years of famine it shall serve thee and thy brother; Love divine will fill the storehouse, and thy handful

still renew; Scanty fare for one will often make a royal feast

For the heart grows rich in giving, all its wealth is

living grain; Seeds which mildew in the garner, scatter'd, fill with gold the plain ".

LEADING ARTICLES.

THE ONE SUPREME NEED.

NATURALLY the country is thinking first this week of the German blockade by submarine: of the British and neutral ships bludgeoned to death in British waters. We warned our readers last week that the German threat was not lightly to be regarded. The submarine menace is deadly, and it is entirely novel. The experts do not as yet quite know how to measure its gravity; and it would be merely pretentious at this time for anyone not in the inmost counsels of the Admiralty to suggest or predict the exact consequences of the German blockade.

But the moral for the country at large is simple. Germany, tooth and claw, is a menace to her enemies by land, sea, and air till she is brought to a strict account by the Allied Armies. We are driven again to realise what is the first and supreme need to-day, if the Allies are to win the war within a reasonable time before we become crippled in resources and trade.

To-day the first supreme need is to get in great and greater abundance the able-bodied men of serviceable age for Lord Kitchener's new armies; this and this above everything.

The Government through their House of Commons spokesman in the matter-Mr. Tennant, Under Secretary of State for War-has definitely proclaimed that it will need every able-bodied man for the work before it. Suppose we do not go quite so far as this; even so, we must at least admit that the country-for its mighty task within the coming months-will need a matter of millions more men for its new armies now forming. If only the whole country could be brought to grip this plain, incontrovertible truth, what a great step forward it would be! But the truth has not yet fully dawned on everybody: many have, so far, only seen it in a kind of doubtful twilight: indeed, we fear there must still be a large number of people in our country who are more or less expending their thought, time, energies on comparatively inessential matters relating to the war. It is because we have noticed this, that we have refrained from much comment lately on such matters as, for example, (a) the German alien danger, and (b) the organising of various volunteer bodies against invasion, etc. The spy and alien question is decidedly important, and we could wish that it had been dealt with by the Government in a less confusing manner, but the question of getting every fit man for the war is a thousand times more important.

Again, the encouraging and organising of volunteer bodies-always provided they are composed of men either well over the recruiting age for Lord Kitchener's Armies or of men disqualified for various reasons for service in those armies-is quite a praiseworthy patriotic activity in its way; just as is the encouraging of men-well over the recruiting agefor volunteer work as special constables. activity is a capital thing: it helps to bring all classes in the country well together and gives us all a feeling that we are doing our little, making our mite of contribution, towards the common weal. But directly we tend to concentrate on any comparatively inessential matters, we do real mischief to the main work and duty, the supreme need of the whole country and Empire to-day-the need of all able-bodied young men for Lord Kitchener's Armies who are not working in Government factories. It must be borne in mind that, after all, in case of an invasion on a large scale-which frankly we do not expect just nowthe enemy must be dealt with by the Territorial Forces which were raised for that purpose alone, and which during the war have been greatly increased in numbers. We have a force in them which ought to be able to give an excellent account of itself in case of an invasion on a large scale; and, at the best, irregular corps can only be regarded seriously as a second line that might possibly be useful if the worst came to the worst—though, personally, we cannot profess to believe for a moment they could stand against a German army.

It is absolutely essential that neither the volunteer corps, nor the special constabulary, nor any other unarmed, armed, or partially armed body of the kind should draw off strength or energy and public endeavour which should be devoted to the great business of making Lord Kitchener's new armies overwhelmingly effective and strong.

For offensive and defensive purposes the whole country should concentrate—and, till the end has been secured, not cease to concentrate—on this one supreme need—men for the new armies.

We do therefore earnestly advise all'people and all papers who have an influence in the country to set aside largely, for the time being at any rate, such questions as those of the aliens, the various volunteer corps, the special constabulary, and so forth, and concentrate, instead, on the question of how to get men now and in great abundance for Lord Kitchener's Armies. We believe there is left only one way of getting them at once and fairly and in all respects satisfactorily and in a statesmanlike and truly national way; and we have again and again urged that this way should be taken straightway. It would not disturb the trade of the country any more than voluntary or semi-voluntary recruiting, if it is to be effective, must necessarily disturb trade; and it would put a close to all bitterness and sense of unfairness and a close to horrible charges or insinuations of shirking and If any one has a better cowardice and so forth. method, or as good a method, he should let the country know at once what it is. We are not, we confess, impressed by the argument that the Government alone should discuss and decide on the method as they alone have the true figures and facts. On the contrary, the facts are known and clear to the whole country: the country has lately had it from the Government spokesman in the Commons, Mr. Tennant, that it needs all the men. Moreover, if we were to leave this matter wholly to the Government, we ought assuredly also to leave all manner of other matters relating to the war wholly to the Government. The Government, it might be urged, know far more than we can know about spies and aliens, and indeed almost every question that the papers and the public discuss to-day! We ought not, according to this line of argument, to speak of aniline dyes-for the Government ought to have, far more than any person or paper can have, the true facts and figures about these dyes. Really the thing is quite impracticable; and it is assuming, if not a divine right, at least a divine knowledge and wisdom -and will-in the Government which they would hardly care to claim for themselves. The theory is unsound and we cannot possibly subscribe to it. We think the Duke of Somerset was perfectly right and patriotic in criticising the Government frankly and severely as he did in a letter to the "Morning Post" this week; and, what is more, we were very much impressed by the matter as well as the straight, direct manner of his complaints.

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Governments, especially Governments that have trained themselves strictly on peace principles, may well require, when involved in a great and extremely difficult war, from time to time the spur; they may require encouragement and direction too. It would be a most risky, even a reckless, thing to give them a perfectly loose rein and let them go whither they choose or whither they are drifted. This Government evidently would like to know what the country as a whole thinks of the principle of obligatory or national and compulsory service: it cannot learn what the country thinks if those who speak and write with any authority and sense of responsibility in the country sit on the fence and say nothing.

THE PRIME OF THE NEW ARMIES.

T is six months since the first recruits came in and we watched in the London parks the assembling of the new armies. The bulk of these recruits are waiting yet to take their place in the fighting line. Meantime they have become, or are rapidly becoming-They are the bright new weapon shortly to be added to the armoury of the Allies—a weapon forged with energy and skill. When, in the opinion of its makers and assayers, the weapon is known to be ready, there is no doubt at all that, whatever the fortunes of war, a blow memorable in history will be struck at the enemy. The impatience of many anxious observers of the war during the long agony of Belgium and the late pause in France must often have been moderated by the thought of the great work which has for six months been steadily going forward in our camps, and billets, and barracks. That work has been steadfast and heroic. We started war with an Expeditionary Force, a force that has won an immortal place in the story of the Great War, but a force where every man had to do the work of many. It was one of the finest small armies ever sent into the field; but it was not on the modern scale. We realised that legions were necessary; and soon we shall enter into this European war, not, alas! with the full striking power of the nation, but at least with armies that yet may prove an important factor in a decisive campaign-armies filled with high hope and hardened by toil and hardship. These armies hold a curiously intimate place in the country's interest. The interest of the nation in the new armies is quite unlike its interest in the Navy. The Navy is by tradition secure. The country's joy and pride in the Navy is joy and pride in the eldest-born. It would be an incalculable disaster if the Navy were to break; but it is hardly a conceivable disaster. The country assumes—it cannot help assuming—that the Navy is supreme in strength and skill. That is a tradition—an act of necessary faith. Our attitude to the Navy is determined by the fact that the Navy has always been regarded as our necessary weapon. It is weapon tried by centuries of use; and in its present form it is the fruit of the treasure and thought of a generation. The new armies are in a different case. They are a weapon snatched when the battlefield was already set, the fruit of a sudden necessity. A rush of novel energy has gone to their making; and the country's interest in them is an interest in something splendid but incalculable. Men have rushed forward to make good the weak place in our armour neglected by their rulers in time of peace. Their enterprise has in it a dash of opportunism, of adventurous temporisation, which appeals to the fancy. We are content to rest in the Navy; but we are breathless to watch the lew armies. What will be their share in the Great War? No one who has seen anything of their making nd training doubts that their share in the war will oring great advantage and honour to the Allies' cause. There have necessarily been confusion, delay, and disappointment in the equipping and drilling of the new armies; for armies are not extemporised in a few months without taxing the loyalty and patience of

all who bear a part. More especially this extemporisa-tion has heavily taxed the loyalty and patience of the devoted men who have come forward and taken on themselves the burden—a burden which our Government has dodged—of filling the ranks as fast, hitherto, as the Departments can deal with them. The motto of the Departments in dealing with the new armies has had to be the motto of Ahenobarbus:

" Every moment Serves for the matter that is then born in't ".

But the first scramble is now forgotten; and we see everywhere the signs of a finish to the first part of the task begun in August of last year.

We have always insisted that the Great War is a war by land. Germany can only be met upon the Rhine, in Silesia, and among the Masurian Lakes. Belgium has to be restored, and can only be restored by the Armies of France and Great Britain. We must by the Armies of France and Great Britain. We must not be misled by the partiality of British Ministers each for his own department. Mr. Churchill naturally claims that the Navy is our decisive weapon in the war. Mr. Lloyd George has claimed that the "silver liber "you'll be be the whole truth is not either." But the whole truth is not either bullets " will win. in Mr. Churchill or in Mr. Lloyd George. Without the Navy and without wealth we should undoubtedly perish; but these are not the vital weapons of offence required at this moment upon the Isere. The fortunes of this war, if we are to see the conclusion come ere we are crippled, are upon land. Again Great Britain, to keep her high place as an island Power, has to go upon the Continent with armies. Again the fallacy is exposed which thinks of England as a Power shut away from all the perils of neighbour States by the sea. No sooner was war declared than we were compelled to accept the old military policy of adventure. How immediately the nation concentrated upon raising and equipping an army, "for the duration of the war", will hereafter be one of the great stories to be added to that English chronicle which was started under the quill of Alfred King of Wessex. One of the strange things to be recorded by future historians is how the whole outlook of the British people was changed by the outbreak of war. At one moment Parliament and the Press were discussing, as a question of principle, whether Great Britain was, or was not, to be regarded as a military Power. There was a school that measured our military needs solely by the possibility or prospect of a "raid" upon our Then, strangely, not a word, at least not a responsible word, more was heard of this discussion. Suddenly it had become academic. Spontaneously it Suddenly it had become academic. was realised that new armies were necessary. are, of course, a few talkers and writers, out of touch and temper with the time, who confusedly regard the new armies as a kind of luxurious addition to our good work-a little exceeding the bond of our obligation to ourselves and our Allies. But these fuddled decadents speak virtually for themselves alone. The nation as a whole knows that the new armies are It has not argued about them, or had a single doubt of their necessity. There is only one thing possible to be done in war, and that is the utmost thing within the country's power. That is true of any war. More particularly is it true of a war with the greatest military organisation of modern times. The truth was recognised by the British nation without intervention or urgent advice of its political leaders. It was recognised instinctively, and out of that recognition the new armies have sprung.

Given the conditions in August last the new armies are a miracle. The two primary conditions were (a) a state of absolute unreadiness in men, equipment, machinery, organisation and armament for anything like a military policy, and (b) the resolution of political Ministers to dodge as long as possible any systematic plan of recruit-ing, to leave the country without a leading word as to its obligations, and to allow the new armies to grow at the discretion of the volunteer. Starting with these conditions-the second of which still holds true-the new armies were clearly marked for failure, unless

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this failure were redeemed by the devotion and zeal of their makers and of the soldiers to be made. splendid success of the new armies means that first to last they are the fruit of a national inspiration. They have taken doubtless the best youth and brain of the country. They are alert and alive in every

company and battalion.

We may be sure that the new armies are not watched alone by their own people. They are a pledge to our Allies that Great Britain has entered into the war without reserve. We are not less committed to sacrifice than Belgium, whose country has been torn away; than France, whose territory is invaded and wasted; than Russia, whose frontiers have for six months wavered from the Niemen to the Vistula. The new armies are an earnest of the pledgespoken, written, and confirmed many times between the Allied Powers-that the present war is a national war to be fought to a finish. To complete this pledge, whose fulfilment in part the new armies have voluntarily taken upon themselves, one thing alone is now necessary. The national war must be made in all things national. At present it is a national war fought on behalf of the nation by volunteer deputies. We have to assure to our new volunteer armies a continuous flow of trained and equipped reserves. We owe it to the armies which have made themselves that at once we should concentrate upon and scientifically set about the armies which have yet to be made.

WAYS AND MEANS.

FROM the start of the war it has been well for many reasons to dwell rather on the need of armies in the field than on the need of husbanding our financial resources. We have always had the money and we have not had the armies. Also we are competent to use our money to the best advantage. Great Britain has put some of her best brain into finance, just as the Germans have put theirs into military science. Our credit is the best in the world; our banks are the most ably and cautiously managed. We are able to say, without misgiving, on the strength of opinions held by the highest and most intimately implicated experts in finance, that the financial position of Great Britain at this moment is entirely sound. Finance is not the weak place in our armour. Finan-Finance is not the weak place in our armour. cially we are better prepared for a long war than our enemy. Our gold reserve is adequate: Mr. Lloyd George was entirely correct in saying that it is enough to meet any demand that is likely to be made upon it. Securities are safe except for the inevitable wear and tear and waste of a period of war. The banks, as their late reports have shown, are not only secure, they are even ready to adventure into all kinds of special activity. The more cautious firms wrote off considerable sums in January against a possible future depreciation of their securities, but this was purely a precautionary

Our position, in a word, is sound; and, we must add, it has every need to be sound. Germany has prepared herself for war for forty years, gradually equipping and organising a military machine efficient in all points at enormous labour and cost. The Allies have now to expend in as many months the money which Germany has expended in whole decades. Neither Russia, nor France, nor Great Britain had, or has yet, anything like the superb equipment of their antagonist. We have to spend money lavishly and antagonist. We have to spend money lavishly and continually in the common cause, and our position would be hopeless if our joint wealth were not equal to the demand it has to meet.

The arrangements just concluded to use to the best common advantage the financial resources of the Allies are now fairly clear. The original weak point was the joint loan. A joint loan between Powers whose credit is not upon exactly the same level is the worst possible way of raising money. Suppose there are two parties to the loan. The first party may be able to raise money at five per cent. The second party may not be able to

raise money under six per cent., its credit being less good than the credit of the first party. If the two parties issue a joint loan one of two things will happen Either the loan will be floated at six per cent., in which case the first party will be paying more for its mone than it need, or the loan will be raised at less than six per cent., in which case the banks and financiers who are accustomed to get a full six per cent. from the second party will be making less profit than they are accustomed to make, a position which they may not be ready to accept. The difficulties in the way of be ready to accept. a joint loan do not end here, but almost all the diffculties are due to the difference in the credit of the parties whose chief consequences we have briefly described. There is only one advantage to set off the very serious weaknesses of a joint loan. France is able more successfully than England to induce the small people to come in and take up her national loans. The small people in England do not, notoriously, take to this kind of investment. The last war loan was a clear evidence of this. A joint loan of France and England would bring in more small investors than two separate loans of England and France. But this advantage does not compensate for the waste in other directions. is well that the joint loan should be given up by the Government, both on the big and little scale.

The measures taken to relieve the financial congestion of Russia are admirable. Russia is suffering financially from blockade. Her material wealth is shut up behind the Dardanelles. The result of this is that her credits abroad have been gradually depleted. Russia has to buy heavily at a time when she is prohibited from selling—that is the root explanation of her present difficulties. There are two ways of helping Russia, and both are being taken. One is to establish credits abroad on her behalf by loan, or by arrangements for easing an exchange-matters which Mr. Lloyd George has already explained to the House. The other is to open a way exports. This last enterprise is very shortly to be undertaken. The opening of the Dardanelles be undertaken. would relieve Russia almost immediately, but this, of course, is a serious undertaking, not to be brought off casually as a mere incident of the war. It is not a question of detaching a few cruisers and dropping a few shells into Constantinople. The Government realises this clearly enough; but we do not think the public have quite grasped how grave a problem here confronts the Allies. It is well not to count on too rapid or easy an opening of the way for the exports of Russia. The wheat ships of Russia, when they arrive upon the open sea—as we firmly trust that they will—will mean more than a fall in the price of corn. They will mean that one of the most difficult problems of the war has brilliantly been solved.

Meantime we may perhaps allow ourselves to reflect that Germany also is suffering a blockade which cannot fail to affect her credit. Finance is a weaker place in the German armour than any we have yet been able to find. The German banks must already acutely feel the strain, because the German banks tend to rely upon active and profitable industry for their stability far more directly than do the English banks. The German banks will finance any man of business in whom they have faith almost regardless of the security he has to offer. Their only security is the success and ability of their borrowing client. This German system actity of their borrowing client. This German system acts in time of peace frequently to the detriment of British trade, which is, of course, denied the easy credit that the German trader so readily commands. But in time of crisis the British system of security and

cover is justified. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to give away any point of the financial game. The war may yet have many surprises and hazards in store for the Allies. We must play for safety and a prolonged struggle.

Let there be economy and a strict audit-as public as is practicable at a time when financial control is almost To this necesentirely out of the hands of Parliament. sity for economy and vigilance we may return again.

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Meantime there are a few small matters concerning the organisation of our charity that might well be attended to without delay. Is it not time to make a full and clear and completely authoritative statement as to what has been done, and is being done, with the great national Fund? The public, roughly, only knows that there is such a Fund, that it stands in the name of the Prince of Wales, and that it amounts to the vast sum of four million pounds odd. These few naked facts represent the sum total of the public's knowledge in the matter; and we think the time has been reached when some illuminating statement should be made as to how, and by whom exactly, it is being distributed; as to what classes of individuals and charitable organisations are being relieved by it; and what is the proportion-amongst these individuals-as between the families of soldiers and sailors and the families of civilians in distress. Why should there not even be a weekly or monthly statement as to this great Fund? Why not have regular despatches from the seat of distress—clearly and simply written for the benefit of the public intelligence—as we are to have regular dispatches from the seat of war?

In saying this we are not for a moment suggesting that there is anything improper in the management of this matter, or in the distribution of the money: very far from it: our point is that the public knows no more about the matter—which is one of magnitude and highest importance—than it knows of the working or the constitutional theory of the Bank of England. The state of mind of the average intelligent person in this matter is simply chaotic-he-or she-knows nothing; as a rule he does not know who runs it or for whom precisely it was started. We hope that the responsible authorities will soon draw up and publish a perfectly clear account of the Fund, and so educate the public as to one of the most gigantic charitable movements

in the world's history.

Finally, we should like to say a word or two about the starting of charitable enterprises of a financial nature at this time. In our view the thing is in danger of being altogether overdone. No new charity in this country on behalf of any of our Allies should, from this time forth to the close of the war at any rate, be allowed to start without the official licence of the Foreign Embassies or Consulates concerned. Some kind of State control or surveillance has become quite necessary in the matter of war charities, for the saying that a fool and his money are soon parted is quite as true in time of war as in time of peace; and we do not want a shilling of charity money to be squandered or spirited away. There are very many matters of this nature that want supervision to-day; we should like to see a live business side and a scientific and organising side of the Government developed. The State, it seems to us, needs replenishing to-day with some new intelligence and enterprise: we do not want more old hacks and camp suttlers that have often been tried and found more or less wanting. We prefer fresh and vigorous brains.

THE LAW OF REPRISALS. [BY A WHEWELL SCHOLAR.]

WHEN once States have resolved to submit their differences to the decision of armed force international law has no alternative but to recognise the existence of war, independently of the justice of its origin. Approaching it somewhat in the same spirit as the doctor of medicine approaches disease, international law then attempts to regulate and improve the conditions under which it is carried on. of war and neutrality have come into being by the same process as all the law of nations. Certain usages have sprung up, at first unmarked, in the inevitable contact of state and state; the growth of civilisation has bettered and extended these usages; and after the lapse of time they have been tacitly clothed with the sanction of legal obligation. Thereafter states conformed to them no longer from mere habit or from

motives of convenience, but because they believed themselves legally bound by them. Thus arose the rules of international law. Customs and usages of this sort have been from time to time modified, extended, or reconciled by express agreement between the Powers; and although, owing to the absence of any right vested in a majority to bind a minority, Hague Conferences might be expected to be gatherings where, in the language of "Cranford", each delegate took the tune he knew best and sang it to his own satisfaction, a considerable body of international law has been created by convention.

Therefore the laws of war and neutrality are both "customary" and "conventional", and represent a compromise between opposing interests and principles. Each nation at war desires to do all in its power to harm the enemy and by this means to achieve victory; this desire is restrained by the desire to retain the goodwill of nations at peace, and by a deep-rooted moral feeling that as little suffering should be caused to sentient beings as is compatible with victory. "Les nations doivent se faire dans la paix le plus de bien et dans la guerre le moins de mal qu'il est possible." By one of the delightful ironies of history this admirable sentiment was formulated by Talleyrand in a letter to Napoleon. Every neutral, on the other hand, desires that its ordinary intercourse with belligerents and with other neutrals should be disturbed as little as possible, and that its rights as a sovereign state should be

respected.

Thus two processes are discovered. The rules of war as between enemy states, especially those which regulate the conduct of land warfare, have tended, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century, to become more humane. But the laws of century, to become more humane. But the laws of neutrality have developed somewhat differently. At first neutral rights were little respected by belligerents, and neutral sas little understood their duty. A nation at war was often permitted "to raise soldiers and seamen by beat of drum within the kingdoms, countries and cities of the neutral state, and to hire men of war and ships of burden". Gradually, however, neutral rights and duties were evolved, not uniformly but by alternating periods of progress and relapse. Practice shows that the rules governing belligerent rights have been relaxed in favour of neutrals, or made more stringent in the interest of a state at war, according to the distribution of world power between combatant and non-combatant nations prevailing at the time. Thus during the Napoleonic wars the laws of neutrality were perverted by belligerents, whereas during the last century, when the majority of the great powers at any given time were at peace, the liberty of the combatant nations was considerably curtailed. The nucleus of fixed and undisputed principles about which practice has revolved represents the customary international law Similar influences have moulded the of neutrality. form of those rules which have been made by express agreement. They point almost invariably to a com-promise, the terms of which have been largely dictated by the relative political position and requirements of the consenting states.

There is no supreme authority, irresistible and independent, to enforce the rules of international law. "Self-help", writes an eminent jurist, "and intervention on the part of other states which sympathise with the wronged one are the means by which the rules of the law of nations can be, and actually are, enforced". Since this is so, the sanction of an international rule at any particular time can only be discovered by surveying diplomatically the many influences at work in the Councils of Nations. In such a war as the present, when the greater states of Europe are in arms, the intervention of third Powers in aid of law is less to be anticipated, and the capacition of law is thereby imposined. anticipated, and the sanction of law is thereby impaired. If, therefore, the intervention of independent states cannot be invoked with success, or if for any reason it is unlikely that the fear of such intervention will exercise a restraining influence on the offender, the nation aggrieved must itself take the vindication of law into its own hands. Although the sufferer is often ill-qualified to wield the sword of retribution, although

retaliation, if prompted by anger and unmeasured in application, generally provokes further illegality, a time must come—it may have come already—when reprisals are not only legal according to the law of nations, but are also essential to its vindication. When and how reprisals ought to be made are questions which only a statesman can decide; when a good case has arisen for retaliation, the law does not fetter the choice of means: to do so would be dangerous to its own existence. In the sober language of the British Note, "it is impossible for one belligerent to depart from rules and precedents and for the other to remain bound by them ". A nation's advisers may from motives of policy and regard for the support and respect of the nations not at war overlook for a considerable time the illegal acts of the enemy and abide by the strict rules They may even relax these rules in favour of a neutral. They will consider, for example, not only whether the "Dacia" can be legally condemned, or whether the cargo of the "Wilhelmina" is legally contraband, but also whether it is politically expedient to seize the one ship and condemn the cargo of the other, and they will be guided in their conclusions by considerations not legal but diplomatic. But the time must come when our enemy cannot be longer allowed to pursue a course of open illegality while remaining, in the words of Mr. Churchill, "herself protected by the bulwark of international instruments which she has utterly repudiated and defied, and which we, much to our detriment, have respected ". If neutral states are unable or unwilling, in the interest of law, to exact reparation from our enemy, they cannot deny us the right to exact such reparation for ourselves. The progress of the law of nations demands that a penalty should be paid for flagrant lawlessness, and history shows that the law, if flouted, is usually revenged.

THE GREAT WAR.

APPRECIATION (No. 30) BY VIEILLE MOUSTACHE.

"Le bon Dieu est toujours avec les gros escadrons."

WAR dispels all illusions. We are gradually beginning to realise what victims of deception we have been to the idea that diplomacy can take the place of arms, and to recognise that the burden of arms for the purposes of world-peace is the task of the man-hood of a nation. The French proverb above quoted is perhaps more prophetic of the present and of the future than correct in its aspect of history in the past. Rome with its disciplined legions faced and conquered vastly Frederick and the splendid army superior numbers. which he inherited was invariably in a minority against the Powers of Europe. The Japanese, with inferior numbers, have triumphed over their adversaries. The Dervish hordes at Omdurman outnumbered us by ten When mobility on the battlefield is denied owing to the impossibility of manœuvre, then this allimportant element of success must be replaced by some other substitute and we begin to realise the value of numbers in the field. We British are fighting for two purposes, for ourselves and for European liberty. We are not strangers to such a cause for combat. Our history reminds us of the days of Philip the Second, of Louis the Fourteenth, of Napoleon, when England not only championed, but won, the cause of independence for the lesser nations of the continent of Europe. far more powerful military tyrant has arisen than either of these potentates, and the doctrine of the German teaching for nigh half a century has been now openly declared that war is anything but an anachronism. We English consider war an evil, and rightly so. We, who look upon it as immoral, are up against an enemy who look upon it as immoral, are up against an enemy who has been taught to consider it as essentially moral. "There is no discharge in this war" unless we put forth the full man power of the nation, for we are now able to realise that we are face to face with an entire nation of warriors. It is our business to most this challenge to a duel in the ness to meet this challenge to a duel in the

interests of future world-peace and to impose upon our foe our own ideas of morality. The contest to either side is one of political annihilation or supremacy. The contest to We make a grave error if we belittle the strength of our enemy or underrate his power of opposition. What better proof of the splendid spirit of the Teuton than that afforded by the recent hammer blows in East Prussia, delivered, according to report, by armies created out of the new formations, containing men and youths raised, trained, and equipped since the beginning of the war? It requires more than ordinary military virtues in troops raised from raw material to take the offensive against veterans, and in a measure to succeed. Not an hour can this material have been out of sight of leader and instructor since the individual figured in the ranks. No happy week-ends or Christ-masing for the man destined for the war machine of Germany. Unlike the men of voluntarily raised armies, who have to be humoured and handled tactfully or they would not play up at all, the recruits of the Kaiser step into the mould and apparently in six months are deemed of a sufficiently hardened steel to cross bayonets with the veterans of the Czar. object lesson, especially to England, who has had to create armies behind the shield afforded by the Lilliputian force of her brave Regulars, and an example to our rulers, who will have again ere long to face a reformed military system. All honour to those patriotic two million or so of young Britons who have come forward to fight in the nation's cause. But we want three million, we are told, and yet men hesitate. "Every man will be needed," we are informed in the nation's council-chamber by a responsible official, and be is right. Thrice in six months has success been denied to our arms for the want of more "big battalions". We need not labour the story of the sad occasions when retreat was imposed upon us in the opening days of war, the penalty of the inability of putting only a half of our promised strength into the struggle. The fruits of victory again denied upon the Aisne; the terrible sacrifices of a one-to-four struggle in the lines south of Ypres. We must make a positive certainty of success in the next step forward. We cannot afford to tempt Providence again; the time has come for putting faith in the means advocated in the French proverb that opens this letter. In the appreciation (No. 17) of 28 November 1914 I ventured to submit a scheme for governing the system under which the required numbers should be drawn for service. The output monthly of the Departments in their ability to arm, clothe, and equip men was the factor that should regulate the intake of recruits. It is no secret that we have been performing more than our fair task in equipping our Allies. We were not the only nation that was guilty of unreadiness for war, and we share with others the consequent penalty of aggression which unpreparedness invariably invites. We have, both of us Allies in the West, had our punishment, but we have no inten-tion of taking it lying down. Ere long our Departments should be able to meet fourfold requirements for our own Army, and the moment that they can do so should be anticipated by having recruits ready to hand to complete our numbers and fill up the cadres that we are told we must possess. It will, as I suggested, be unwise to impose obligatory service in the field for active work upon men under the age of 20; the false economy of using immature men under war conditions has already made itself apparent.

If it be true that war dispels illusions it is equally true that war cements social and political differences. Successful war, as we learn by history, makes for political strength. A century ago Germany was broken up into nigh five hundred Principalities. We know her now, united she stands, divided she falls. It is thus with us. The divergent strands of our own social and political lines have been coiled into a rope with almost the consistency and strength of a cable. We do not dream of non-success in our war venture, but a day of trouble is before us, and the longer the war

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continues the greater will be the agitation. That day is the day of demobilisation of an army of nigh three million men. A social revolution almost stares us in the face on the day when armies of disarmed men who have fought the battles of the Empire confront armies of men who have shirked the issue and who, strong in their right to decline to lift a finger in the nation's cause, hold all the plums in industrial life. Let us save these latter workers from the reproach and slur of their future fellow-workers, for if we do not anticipate by some means a method for that purpose we shall live to repent it. system suggested in my letter above alluded to affords a screen for an answer to the question which every man will ask of his neighbour for the next half-century, "And where were you during the Great War?" It will save the shame of evasion of a national duty if the reply can be made, "I was drawn by ballot for service when required, but mational duty if the reply can be made, "I was drawn by ballot for service when required, but the war terminated before I was called up". Without question nigh some million of our workers are toiling at industries which materially assist in making for victory to our arms. They are performing an Imperial duty. Without question nigh two million of our workers are toiling at industries which have a sordid personal and pecuniary motive and which in many cases can be undertaken by men physically in-capable of bearing arms, and not infrequently can be found at some work which can be carried on by capable women. We may even question whether our municipal and county corporations are not unwittingly creating harbours of refuge for the shirker. In one county I am told some 450 men are employed in building an asylum for lunatics, which work affords a temporary asylum for nigh some 150 able-bodied men. Is it not time we hung up the tinkering methods we have hitherto employed to fill our ranks and to raise our armies and embarked on a system that spells "thorough"?

The hateful word "Conscription", used by some as a political cry, is not at all what we want. Conscription allows of a substitute to take the place of the man whose number has been drawn for service. Thus at least it was interpreted in the days of Napoleon, the author of the scheme. The liability of obligatory service on the manhood of a nation is the only safeguard for the nation's peace, and that should be the battle-cry of all parties who would stave off war. We have worked miracles in six months, but we should have reached peace by now had our splendid material but had within it the training of a previous half-year. Doubly strong would it have been with this latter advantage, for no strange officer or N.C.O. would have met strange privates on the threshold of the bloody gates of war. We know what this war has already cost us in the casualties among the flower of our Army. The sacrifice in lives due to imperfect training of men and officers in our new armies when launched across the Channel is not to be estimated. War takes the heaviest of tolls from the inexperienced, and it would be folly, if we mean success, to ignore the necessity of having ready trained and ample material to fill the gaps, and it is imperative that the men should be available immediately they are required. It is much to be hoped that, in any future scheme that may be entertained for the purpose of creating a "national reserve" behind the Regular Army of the country, no half-hearted measures for training the men will be adopted. Further, that when Further, that when such a force is raised it must be made to understand that, where there are enemies of the Empire to be found, there must the men of this force be expected to go and seek them. There must be no "parish pump" limit permitted to the scope of trial-at-arms for the young manhood of the country. Let our Voluntary Training Corps in their many thousands become duly recognised for this service and embodied with the veterans of the existing "National Reserve" who have responded to the call to arms. Surely we can thereby create a Home Defence Army capable for the purpose and strong enough to free our able-bodied youths to

carry our arms to hostile frontiers which in an Island Power must always be found across the seas. We have, unfortunately, now locked up within our shores some fine material both in Army staffs, officers and men who should be quite fitted to act somewhere nearer to the foe than they are now. We shall probably in remodelling our forces bury for ever the makeshift hand-to-mouth system hitherto employed for simple pro-tective purposes. The method of raising and training the Territorial Forces in the initial recruit stage that obtains in peace is absolutely opposed to the first principles of education in a soldier. The man comes when he likes and goes when he likes. He suits himself— a system which strikes at the very root of all discipline, for discipline, rightly interpreted, means the subservi-ence of the individual will to the will of a superior. Nothing can be more gratifying to the nation than to read in dispatches the high meed of praise that has been bestowed upon those units of the Territorial Force whose training justified their being selected for trial in the fire of war. The very fact of the trial having been accorded to so few units justified the critic in drawing attention to the unevenness in the quality of the force as an Army machine. The units themselves have, of course, been duly cared for and nursed up to the task required of them by the capable commanders under whom they are serving. The trials before us are, we fear, of a much higher nature. That the citizen force will confront them with enthusiasm there is no doubt, but, as a general in the field rightly remarks, "enthusiasm can never quite take the place of discipline". Fortunately, at the conclusion of this war we shall have barracks enough and to spare for the passage of the able-bodied youth of the country through a military mill for such a period as should ensure that they can take their place in war as befits the Briton, and that weapons ample in number for the purpose shall be within their reach. If it be correct that you Hindenburg's splendid successes in East Prussia were the rewards of troops raised since the beginning of the war, we have an object-lesson as to the amount of training required for our future second-line Army. We must not, however, imagine for one minute that the ideals of discipline in the two nations are equal. The British youth has to tread many steps up the ladder of military training before he reaches the same level of platform from which the Teuton starts, trained sufficiently to obedience and order to take his place among his comrades in the Nation in Arms. We can begin this education in our schools and save much anxiety and trouble to our future officers, but that is a matter for the social reformer and the politician. No soldier would care to look upon such effort as more than the foundation upon which to rear a military machine adequate to our needs.

There is no middle way in raising, creating and training armies. In every branch of science the gap between the amateur and the professional widens day by day. That is the great lesson of the hour. In the study of the science of war the breach reaches dangerpoint when men, strangers to war, are hustled into the profession of arms and the manhood of the country is

put to the extreme test of national virtue.

We are learning at the expense of our Russian Allies the value not only of "big battalions", but of the ability of "springing" them upon an enemy with all the element of surprise. Our efforts will have to equal those of our adversary and to surpass them if we are to hope for success. He knows as well as we do that we are not yet ready for the task. We must await with patience the hour when we are ready to move; but when that hour strikes let the blow be not only smashing in its effect but have behind it all the force that goes to reap the fruits of a continuous victory.

THE SEAS.

The official secrecy which clouds the operations of our Armies is unfortunately not shared by our Naval Board. The long-range fight with the outer forts of the Dardanelles may have, it is much to be hoped, some purpose for a combined naval and military operation.

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Was it necessary, however, to advertise to our enemies the composition of the Allied Fleets? The world now knows where our smartest battle-cruiser, fresh from its laurels in the South Atlantic, is disporting itself. A hostile armed merchant cruiser, the "Kronprinz Wilhelm", in the absence of the "Inflexible", reaps a fine harvest in the waters freed from a powerful enemy. Doubtless there are less valuable and equally swift craft in search of the German whose movements have been so elusive; but why let him know his best enemy is in another sea? The auxiliary of good air observation has been of supreme value in this battle in the Ægean Sea of ship v. shore guns. Outranged, of course, were the guns of the forts of Sedd-el-Bhar and Kum Kale; but what an economy of ammunition since the days of Alexandria in 1882 by the use of air observers! A minimum of direct hits were made upon the Egyptian guns in the latter war. In fact, with all the vaunted vainglory of our naval achievement on that day, by far the greater damage to the hostile guns and carriages was made by landing parties and gun cotton.

carriages was made by landing parties and gun cotton. While the Armies in both the Western and Eastern theatres of war are designedly inactive, the eyes of the Allies will strain to catch a glimpse of the combined efforts of Russia on the East and of the Allies on the West to roll up the defences that cover the diseased heart of the Turkish Empire. Sedition and revolution within may bring about a premature ending, but it would be wrong to look upon the task as other than one which, if undertaken, must be done so with means that must spell absolute success. The prize to be gained is of untold value to the Allied cause. A check would throw wavering neutrals into further prolonged

The visits to our shores of hostile Zeppelins will now be few. Since we have in our wisdom omitted to favour them with our meteorological reports of the signs of coming weather two have been wrecked, both said to be previous visitors to our shores. We might go a step further and publish bogus weather prospects. The harvest of the blockade of Great Britain has not been great up to date, but a courageous active enemy will doubtless make his effort before our new counter weapons are ready. The German has challenged the world, neutral and hostile, in his threat.

MIDDLE ARTICLES.

THE GLORIOUS "NEW MODEL".

By George A. B. DEWAR.

I

THERE is no mistaking the quality of the new Army which is springing into glorious life under Lord Kitchener to-day: it is going to prove steel hard

One has not reached this opinion on the strength of various other opinions drawn from this authority or from that authority. Opinions founded on other opinions—even the most expert and highly specialised—are apt to be no opinions at all, particularly in a matter of this kind; and in any case they can hardly be said to be held. One must, to reach conviction, go about and see something of the type of man who is drilling, of the private, of the officer, of the non-com.; of their spirit, alacrity, physique. We must go through our doubts and hopes and fears about them. We must get to know something of the conduct of the men in their ordinary life, in their recreations and days off, their serious and lighter pursuits, and their way of looking at the war and their coming share in it. We must not shut our ears to grumbling, plenty of it, very natural, not unwholesome grumbling, about pay, about extremely uncomfortable conditions at times in this and that camp or training ground; to occasional complaints as to billeting, uttered not only by the men, but by their hosts

into the bargain. Only in this way, after studying the thing constantly if informally for months, can one reach a clear enough view as to what the worth of such an immense concourse of men is likely to prove when it is transmuted by the alchemy of discipline—and patriotism—from a loose, raw mob into the compact army.

We assuredly passed uneasily through a period of much misgiving at the beginning of the experiment. Who, except feather-headed optimists, has not? The chief doubts, of course, have been the doubts about (1) discipline, and (2) physical fitness, soldierlike hardness; both to be reached within how short a space of time! It would be insincere to affect that these doubts were soon, all round, completely laid. Why did the men of our Expeditionary Army do so extraordinarily well in France under the terrible strain put upon them at the time of Mons and later? How were they able to hold their own, and after the retreat at Mons more than their own, against far superior forces? It was not because they were pitted against a weak foe. were pitted against a highly trained army of brave men, flung upon them in masses; men well fed, well officered, and full of confidence and—after the fall of Liège—success. To discount the skill, valour, and of Liège-success. To discount the skill, valour, and patriotism of the German troops is absurd and dullwitted: one can wholly agree with what has been often said in the matter by the veteran soldier, full of ripe experience in command and in war, who contributes each week to this REVIEW his "Appreciation"—the Germans make a great army of brave men.

The secret of the wonderful success of Sir John French's men, in positions of perhaps unparalleled hardship on the field so far as modern wars are concerned, must be, largely, sought for in the fact that they were a standing army, constant in practice, in discipline—men trained to something like the pink of perfection. We do not forget their leading—"calm courage and consummate skill"; and we do not forget the past claim of a great historian of campaigns—namely, that in our people is an "innate warlike passion, the gift, it would seem, of high heaven to certain chosen races of men". But continuous discipline and training, continuous practice—these things told immensely in the struggle at the time of Mons; and it would be hard indeed to over-estimate their value.

This fact, then, set one doubting in those days, and for some time after, whether it would be possible to fill, for long, the gaps that grew larger and larger, and it caused grief and misgivings at home which we hardly cared to express to each other. But that phase has almost entirely passed away. We now know that gaps have been filled; and that in many instances the ranks of the old, historic regiments, Highland and other, have been fed by comparatively new men, by green men, who have given a great account of themselves in fighting.

This last fact is one of the most cheering, one of the most wholly satisfactory facts of the war so far. There can be no question about it. I have heard it particularly during the last fortnight or so from staff officers who are by no means among the careless optimists and who indeed are very far from making light of our late unpreparedness in various matters for a land campaign against a professional war Power like Germany.

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It is an extremely hopeful fact that, in some cases, the gaps in our old-established regiments have been made good by recruits to the Regular Army who have actually not had such close and continuous training as many of the men in the new armies now forming. And these recruits have given as fine an account of themselves in violent fighting as the hard-bitten men whose places they took.

But, wherever one turns to in the countryside where the new armies are billeted and training, one is struck by the high spirit and growing hardihood of the men with the plain sleeve and the striped sleeve alike. Andrew Lang once confessed that he was moved by ing the e reach uch an vhen it ompact

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the spectacle of cricket in any form. He said he simply had to stop and watch and take interest in everything in the nature of the game, from Gentlemen v. Players or an Australian match down to evening practice on the roughest village green. Soldiering affects most of us to-day in just the same way; there has been no colour to touch that of these new wonhas been no colour to touch that of these new, wondrous armies since one played with tin soldiers in scarlet and blue and black in one's very early years. There is some sort of magic, sheer magic, in khaki

And what an amazing army it will be in the variety of the profession, class, disposition of its rank and file and non-commissioned officer—a variety which none the less is presently going to grow quite homogeneous for the purpose for which it has been called into being! The rough and the refined, pitman, parson, plough-boy, artist, shop assistant, clerk, corner-boy, 'Varsity undergrad, yeoman-farmer, postman, policeman, poet, and a hundred other kinds—some of them utterly remote from one another in what we thought was real life—all together in the great cause. The τιφνής and the ἀφνής both are there truly! Was there

ever such a truly miraculous haul of men before? It easily surpasses Mr. Kipling's vision of duke's son and cook's son.

Coleridge when he enlisted was an object of curiosity: I think it is Gillman who in the uncompleted life tells of the surprise of an officer in a regiment of horse who discovered Coleridge to be a Greek scholar or an authority on the accents. To-day Coleridge would not need to be sensitive on any score of that kind: it is likely enough he would find himself rubbing shoulders with another poet or Greek scholar, or at least with someone who was for finding room in his haversack for a copy of the "Lyrical Songs and

Ballads '

There is not the glimmer of a doubt to-day-these men are going to disprove absurdly all we thought or theorised about as to refinement being the decay of courage and endurance.

III.

A little while ago I chanced to be sitting in the smoke-room of a hotel in the Highlands talking with three or four officers. By and by the officers went off to bed, and I was left, as I thought, in the room by myself, listening to the rain on the roof and wondering whether I should ever get another salmon or if the Tay would be yet another five feet up in the morning and bringing down with it tree trunks and roots; when a stout, shabby, middle-aged man emerged from a far corner of the room, came and sat next me, and drew from his pocket and thrust at me some dirty, crumpled scraps of paper. I took him for an out-of-work who was seeking alms. He said he was waiting for the one o'clock train to Inverness, and, tired of waiting on the cold station, had come in for warmth. I responded without enthusiasm, but he insisted on my reading his various scraps of paper. It turned out he had just enlisted and was going to join his regi-ment, the — Highlanders. He did not want money, had not lost a place, and thought that after the war he might return to his work of engrossing clerk. His age on the blue bit of paper was "37 years and 37 days". I asked what was his other age, and he days". I asked what was his other age, and he owned, with a sly twinkle, to 49, which obviously was not far short of the true one. This man had joined, he told me—and I believe it now, though I doubted it at first—because he could not stick it any longer, and wanted to do something to satisfy his own feeling and for his country. He knew he was cutting himself adrift from his friends, from the whole of his past, secure, common-form life, and adventuring on a strange world remote from all his experience. It is not a light thing to do that in middle age. Even the bold Sir Bedivere himself, of Arthur's Round Table, did not enjoy starting on an unknown life, going forth

Among new men, strange faces, other minds ".

How much less is a podgy, somewhat seedy, and eminently unromantic person gone 49—the sort of figure one sees in the Commercial Room having a high tea, in carpet slippers-likely to feel at ease as he takes the icy plunge!

That man, as it happened, was enlisting in the Regulars; but the same motive of heroism-heroism with him in a drab form, but the real thing all the same—has been unconsciously at work, in and out, all through the ranks of the new model that we see every-where to-day: the new model that is so transformed from the state we saw it in last August or September, when it was in its braces and dingy civilian breeches, and is now perceptibly growing smarter and smarter, keener and keener, and more and more bodily fit. Getting on for three centuries ago there were drawn up one day on Enborne Heath, near the spot where Falkland fell, certain London trained bands, two or raikland fell, certain London trained bands, two or three regiments of them, raw Militia, that knew hardly any service beyond "the easy practice of their postures in the artillery garden". When the shock of the most famous cavalry came upon them they never budged: "Give them their due", said Digby; "they showed themselves like good men"; and whichever side we may sympathise with in that fight, Cavalier or Roundhead, we must admit that they decided the issue. The new model to-day is made of the same metal, only the metal has been tried and tempered by longer and completer tests than those of the artillery garden: and where there were a few thousands, we shall have a matter of millions.

This army is already the most wonderful, vital thing —incomparably the most wonderful, if the Spithead pageant of 1912 be excluded—English eyes have looked pageant of 1912 be excluded—English eyes have looked on within living memory; and we know that it is yet to be doubled and trebled. I don't know whether it is Militarism or Jingoism or Junkerism to revel in this thing and to joy in the thought and seeing of it, and I personally don't care an atom under which stigma I come; but I have an instinct that England is a more godlike place, and that her air tastes purer, since the tramp of this army, the glorious rhythmic beat of it, has sounded on her old roads.

it, has sounded on her old roads.

ADIEU.

W. E .- 23 FEBRUARY 1915.

"S ORS JACTA". He said this in May last, as he lay in his bed—with his own water colours around him-in his beautiful northern home.

Sors jacta. To-night I travelled up to his funeral, and as the wind caught the motors, and we flew along the dark and snow-covered roads, it reminded me of the night that Charles the Martyr's body was taken

The ghost of the same spiritual suffering atmosphere

was there, but now peace had come.
"I shall never sleep—until!" and now—until also has come.

He lies now under the crimson and purple pall in his last majesty.

I wandered in his room, and again heard the voice, "Sors jacta". The die is cast, and past and over; no more challenges in the SATURDAY REVIEW, no more the mocking, scoffing voice will show us all up, no more the fierce vocabulary invented by the man with the gentle spirit will be heard; and the eyes that could not tolerate anything but beauty are shut for ever. He lies at home to-night for the last time, among the classics, the old masters, and his own water colours all clothed to-night with veils of spiritual richness-till we lay him in his tomb in his garden to-morrow.

OBSOLETE MUSIC.

By John F. RUNCIMAN.

WITH a touch of dismay I observe that various themselves from ruin by exhuming well desiccated volumes of oratorios which one hoped had been finally put into the earth. "The Messiah" I do not count; it has never been moribund; it stands imperishable. But what are we to say when the most modern, almost the most modish, of choral societies falls back on "Elijah" as a means of attracting a paying audience? There is more surprising news than that. I hear of "St. Paul", and rumour speaks of Haydn and Spohr. Picture a twentieth-century audience, fresh from Strauss, Borodin and Stravinsky, sitting solemnly through "Calvary" in Queen's Hall. It is all very amazing. But drowning men-and choral societies-

will catch at straws, if straws can be found. Some time ago I quoted a remark made by a young French musician and reported in a Paris monthly (mysteriously named the "S.I.M.") to this effect: How long are we to put up with played-out Beethoven? The thought was not startlingly original to an Englishman; for we too have had our audacious iconoclasts, and it is at least thirty years since Mr. Joseph Bennett asked precisely the same question in regard to Mozart, whose music he asserted was "a little passé now" (Mr. Bennett's use of French was dainty, though his genders Times change, but not always manners; were wrong). and if the mighty dead were treated with little respect by French and English critics, I fear the lesser fry may soon prove the cause of some exhibitions of the art of being impolite to those who can return no answer. Some of our more daring spirits have long condemned "Judas Maccabæus" with all their hearts, and others have done worse, apologising to the gentle modern German for the "Messiah" and "Israel in Egypt". German for the "Messiah" and "Israel in Egypt". One helplessly wonders what they will say and do when "St. Paul" and "Calvary" are announced. Yet on the whole "St. Paul" is a finer work than "Elijah"—or rather, on the whole, "St. Paul" is a fine work, which "Elijah" is not. The choruses of the mob, the shoddy turbæ, must be given up without a word of regret; nothing can be said for the "great choral fugues". "Stone him to Death" and "For this man" might be dropped into the middle of "The Mikado" or "The Pirates of Penzance" without the most devoted admirer of Sullivan detecting anything wrong, any incongruity of Sullivan detecting anything wrong, any incongruity of spirit or style. "Bless thou the Lord" begins with a subject that is no subject and ends with rumpty-tum fanfares that we should find objectionable on the Embankment; the fugue in "Rise up, arise" amounts to nothing, for all the whirling of the string accompaniment; the greater part of "O, great is the depth" is sheer music-hall; "But our God" is a tiresome school exercise, and the chorale has no significance. are, in short, many, many pages we can quite well do without. On the other hand, the best portions of the oratorio are full of a freshness and tenderness which cannot be found in "Elijah". Mendelssohn aged fast; his powers were not, like Mozart's, crescent when he died at the age of thirty-seven; they were rapidly waning. In his "St. Paul" days they had not touched the point of maturity; and it is the pervading sense of honest youthfulness that compensates for the weakness and lack of building power in the big choruses. "How and lack of building power in the big choruses. "How lovely are the messengers" remains green and dewy after eighty years in this dusty world; "I praise Thee, O Lord", with its naïvely sad, naïvely gay "The Lord he is good" and "For his word shall not decay", has a note of sincerity rare or non-existent in the later Mendelssohn choruses. "St. Paul", in fact, has beautiful things, and it possesses this supreme virtue for present-day purposes: it can be freely cut, and no one present-day purposes: it can be freely cut, and no one is a penny the worse. I know it is supposed to tell a story—that of the conversion of Saul of Tarsus—and in the conversion scene Mendelssohn by the simplest means touches the sublime; but were I performing the work I should take the story as read and miss out everything that is not musically interesting.

One cannot imagine large and enthusiastic audiences assembling to acclaim it with enthusiasm. oratorio set long years ago; and time, that brings not back the mastodon, will not again show us halls full of people listening reverently because the music is "sacred"—is set, that is, to phrases or paraphrases of Holy Writ. I would not mind spending a quiet evenmore with a would not mind spending a quiet evening when I had nothing on my mind in listening to the best parts of "St. Paul", just as I like to hear "Hear My Prayer" or the first chorus in "Elijah" and "Thanks be to God", "Be Not Afraid", "He Watching Over Israel", "There Came Fiery Chariots", and "But the Lord has Raised One". But if our choral societies intend to go fishing in the deeper waters of oblivion and come triumphantly back with "Calvary", I am certain that no one will attend. It "Calvary", I am certain that no one will attend. It was given—how many centuries ago?—by the defunct Novello choir under Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and the congregation left in a condition approaching the asphyxiated. Spohr was an honest, capable musician, and he had one thing vastly in his favour—he never studied harmony or counterpoint. But he had a natural taste for sickly, stolid sweetness, and he wrote for the English market. On that famous occasion when both Spohr and the choir received their death blow the hearts of many of us, I daresay, went out in sympathy to that particular Duke of Clarence who met his end at the bottom of a butt of Malmsey wine. Yet there was nothing suggestive of wine in the music, nor of Eastern drugs and incense: it is sugary, but the sugar contains a large percentage of the driest sand. "The Last a large percentage of the driest sand. "The Last Judgment", with its schoolboy final fugue, is just tolerable—say once in a lifetime. "Calvary" is not tolerable that once. Solemnity without seriousness is not at all uncommon, and Spohr's was one of those minds that are incapable of seriousness. Such a mind cannot be creative—a truth we have all his music to prove. If I wished to be solemn to-day I would warn choral societies not to attempt revivals of this sort of music. If they must "revive" let them turn to music which is never more serious than when it is most gay— Mozart, Haydn (not the "Creation"), Hasse, and the old Italian composers. There possibilities lie.

Givers of instrumental concerts are not so badly handicapped just now. Choral music suitable for con-cert performance is very limited in quantity and monotonous in quality; it is hard to discover any difference between one work written for the English market and any other. The fiddler, the pianist, the 'cellist, the band, can range over a virtually inexhaustible field; if the war should last a hundred years they could go on offering one or two entirely fresh programmes every week, each likely to allure the novelty-loving public. The Classical Society seems to have solved the problem for the present; Sir Henry Wood is solving it; Mr. Samuel Dushkin, a violinist, solved it the other night. One of these weeks I shall devote the state of the seems of the seems of the second of the an article to the novelties, English and foreign, produced since last August; and in the meantime I will only note that our young men are active again. I mean they are grumbling at the public which will not come to listen to their new compositions and denouncing the critics who refuse to hail these as masterpieces. As the result of cool observation I have come to the conclusion that the critics treat them exceed-And the truth is the whole jargon of ingly well. musical criticism has been debased, has been rendered meaningless, by the abuse of superlatives during the last sixty years. The tamest cantatas have been compared with Handel and Bach at their most splendid; colourless symphonies and interminable, themeless, overtures have been described in terms applicable only to the world-masterpieces. The result is that unless one writes that A's or B's or C's new work is worthy of Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner, A or B or C, as the case may be, is dissatisfied and complains of neglect. Let them aim at higher things and demand lower praise, and we shall get on all right: in time masterworks will come forth. Our novelists do not expect to be set alongside of Jane Austen or Dickens or Thackeray; our smaller poets are not disappointed

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But

,,, and and discouraged if we assume in criticising them that they are not Milton or Keats. Hard though it is, we must face the truth sometimes; and the truth with regard to our musicians is that many of them are very minor. They should, therefore, be content with the minor musician's meed.

"A LOT OF WOMEN FUSSING-TOGETHER." By IRENE BERESFORD-HOPE.

ORGANISATIONS for the benefit of soldiers are filling the leisure time of many women. They put into them every good quality except common sense. To the untrained feminine intellect an organisation suggests large offices, where a number of objects are given by a number of people to an unknown crowd. The soldiers are the ultimate crowd, but once the organisation is in full swing the British Army falls into line as a convenient receptacle for parcels. Helping the soldiers gives place to helping the organisation. There are two feminine ways of doing this. The first is to order a uniform for the organised; the second is to supply tea. From the teapot radiate the hours of work. If the organisation halts in its career it is supposed to need enlargement. More voluntary workers are enlisted, and each of them works with diminishing common sense.

A sewing-party may become a competition to see how many shirts can be cut out of fifty yards of fiancel, the last specimen, suitable for a boy of four-teen, being triumphantly displayed as a comfort for the Guards. One kind lady gives a shirt with three sleeves. Granted that she has no male relations, it would not be immodest to count the limbs of an ordinary man in the street, and, though a soldier may lose one arm, he is unlikely to grow a third. Another makes a garment for a helpless case, consisting of six separate pieces of flannel, tied together with fifty-seven

bows of stout tape. It is generally considered uncomfortable for an invalid to lie on one stout bow.

The Organised glow with the idea that their Organisation is on a large scale. It is nice if the Organisation is on a large scale. The size, but it is nicer to say that two thousand pairs have been distributed even if they are misfits. It is much distributed, even if they are misfits. It is much pleasanter to supply the Blues with five hundred sticks of chocolate and seventy-eight mufflers than to provide one company of a regiment of the Line with a complete change of underclothing and towels. It is easier to say the President is unfair than to type the minutes of the last committee, and less trouble to wonder who paid for her tea than to keep the petty-cash book

In amateur organisations the expenses rise, although each member gives her services. All the ladies are careful not to waste a shilling in their home accounts, but they will not bring the same common sense to bear on large sums. The organisation is supposed to cover It is not dishonesty. Confusion and waste arise because one woman will not undertake any job, and another undertakes everything. In both cases nothing is finished. Amateurs can rarely be persuaded to work with each other; they work against each other, or over, or, with complaints, under one another. But each individual cannot be brought to do a regular piece of work, and to go home when that is finished: she goes home first. Most of them are good household managers, yet a state of inefficiency that would not be tolerated in a staff of four is thought praiseworthy in a staff of forty. Each makes the excuse that, if the rest did their share properly, she wouldn't mind how much trouble she took, but meanwhile the address of a letter is lost, and it really isn't worth her while hunt-ing for it if nobody else does. Or two buttons are missing on a shirt, but somebody else has forgotten three, and, at any rate, the Tommy who gets it won't notice details.

Common sense is largely a sense of proportion. A lady who thinks her flat is in as much danger from

Zeppelin bombs as a house at the Front is from shellfire, and who keeps snow-boots and a fur coat ready as a preventive, and says so in mid-committee, is not likely to distinguish between cause and effect in the work of an organisation. Sitting on a relief committee and talking nonsense seems to her as clear a way of serving England as clothing the destitute or feeding the hungry. By some mysterious method the Organisation will work itself, if she is neither absent from, nor silent at, committee meetings. Yet this lady probably earns credit for practical common sense—apart from the matter of snow-boots—in her house.

If every woman would take her charitable work as gravely as her domestic duties it would in the main.

gravely as her domestic duties it would, in the main, be well done. If she felt a sense of personal responsibility, based on common sense, in the writing of every letter and the stitching of every shirt, she would remove the reproach that hangs justly over amateur organisations of being "a lot of women fussing together ".

A "SATURDAY" CATECHISM.

QUESTION: What exactly is the meaning of Voluntarism in recruiting as political Cabinet Ministers interpret it to-day?

Answer: Voluntarism means inducing employers of labour virtually to compel their men—butlers, gamekeepers, grooms, chauffeurs, gardeners, shopmen, fac-tory hands, farm hands, and workers generally—to do that which the Government would rather not compel them to do.

Question: What exactly is the advantage, then, in Voluntarism, seeing that in practice it is now merely a form of compulsion?

Answer: The advantage of Voluntarism is—from the point of view of Cabinet Ministers—the exceedingly solid and obvious advantage that it takes the burden of any possible unpopularity off the shoulders of the Government and planks it down instead on to the shoulders of the employer.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ONLY WAY.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—(1) It was advocated by the greatest Liberal philosopher who has written in this country within living memory—J. S. Mill. A correspondent in the "Westminster Gazette" recently pleaded that this must have been because "Mill had no means of comparing a voluntary with a conscript army". This is entirely wrong; Mill urged a compulsory system for England in the spring of 1871, under the impression produced on his mind by the crushing victory of Germany over France. Germany (to quote from Major F. Maurice in "Cambridge Modern History", vol. xi., pp. 579-80) had in that war "not an army, but a nation in army; France relied upon "a long-service professional army which was not in touch with the nation." The in which was not in touch with the nation". The individual French soldier had often fought decidedly better than the German in the early battles of the war; but he could do nothing against superior numbers and preparation. It was this question of numbers which specially impressed Mill in 1871; yet Colonel Maude is not ashamed to confess that, even as late as 1887, he himself, as a military expert, had not thought it necessary "to trouble much about the question of numbers". ("Nineteenth Century", January 1915, p. 4.) Even now the Liberal Press ignores the question as completely as Colonel Maude ignored it for about 30 years of his life. Leader-writers and correspondents bleat in unison that one volunteer is worth two conscripts. So be it; but is one trained volun-teer, with one half-trained and one wholly untrained volunteer at his back, worth ten trained conscripts?

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That, or something worse, is the numerical disproportion which Britain bears to Germany—or, for the mat-ter of that, per head of population, to Switzerland. Mill saw very clearly these facts, which are now most blindly ignored by precisely the men who claim to be thinking to-day what England will think to-morrow Between 1866 and 1870 the French military attaché in Berlin, Baron Stoffel, had warned Napoleon III. over and over again that Prussia, with her universal compulsory service, held a terrible advantage over France, where substitution was allowed, and where the ranks were more than half-filled with needy volunteers hired to fight for the rich. He only doubted whether any nation would ever be wise enough to adopt universal service until it had been thoroughly beaten. The Emperor, thus warned, tried to atone for the numerical deficiency of his long-service army by instituting a "Territorial Army" of 500,000 men, whose training in peace time was to be patently inadequate, but who were to begin their serious preparation as soon as war broke out. Upon this Stoffel comments: "One is perfectly confounded when one thinks that a proposal so absurd could have been brought forward and seriously discussed by the Parliament of a great country, and that a Government could be found willing to accept and introduce such a law!" ("Reports", English ed., p. 130.) These things, however unknown to modern Liberalism, were perfectly familiar to Mill in 1871; and it was in the light of such and similar revelations that he wrote: "Our turn must come. It is not a time to be talking about peace and the horrors of war when our national exist-ence may soon be at stake"; and again: "It will be an uphill fight to get a really national defensive force after the Swiss system]; but it may be a question of life and death to this country not only to have it, but to have it soon." ("Letters", 2 January and 5 Feb-

ruary 1871.)
(2) There is no country in Europe, except ours, in which even half the Socialist party has been opposed to the compulsory principle; and this was true even before the present war had opened men's eyes to the horrors which hang over an imperfectly defended State. Last August one of the first official acts of the Swiss Socialist party was to proclaim: "We have never opposed our national militia system". In Belgium Universal Service was even forced upon the unwilling Conservatives by a Liberal and Socialist bloc. Jaurès, who died for his determined opposition to the Three Years' system, was yet a convinced advocate of one year's compulsion, not as an opportunist measure, but on principle. He advocated for France a longer and more stringent term of service than Lord Roberts proposed for us. It is a disgrace to British Liberalism that these facts should be concealed; not one Liberal in fifty is aware of them.

(3) The dislocation of trade involved by the Swiss system of compulsory territorialism has been as unconscientiously exaggerated as the real attitude of Conti-nental democrats has been blinked. The International nental democrats has been blinked. The International Arbitration League, for instance, circulates on this subject a series of misstatements by Mr. John Ward, M.P., which have been flatly contradicted by the very authorities on whom he professes to base them. I exposed all this in the "Nineteenth Century and After " for last October. In the safety of his own journal (in which he guillotines nearly all inconvenient protests) the secretary of the league has answered me by producing a fresh series of misstatements; but he steadily refuses to discuss the plain facts in an open pamphlet at my expense. The fact is, that nearly all Swiss employers deny altogether the alleged handicap to trade; and a large proportion are even inclined to think that the country gains by the enforced training of the citizen in peace time. Mill (l.c.) clearly saw in 1871 that the prejudice against the Swiss system rested upon "a most exaggerated idea of the time which would have to be sacrificed from the ordinary pursuits

(4) Colonel Maude, again, has more than once dwelt

upon the national paralysis which would be produced by the mobilisation of a conscript army for many months in any great industrial State. This war has convicted his prophecies of gross exaggeration even in the case of Germany, where there are probably at least a million volunteers serving in addition to every available conscript. Moreover, Germany shows us that a nation which has learnt how to mobilise its soldiers has learnt to mobilise other energies also, Our volunteering, without producing anything like the German proportion of soldiers, appears likely to disorganise our transport industries more than they are disorganised in Germany.

Again, Colonel Maude's objection ignores the simple fact that you can have compulsory training without compulsory fighting. If we had trained our population on the Swiss system in 1871, when Mill advised it, we should have had last August a population in which all able-bodied men were far more seriously prepared for war than our average Territorial was. trained men our volunteers would have been drawn for the Front, and "Kitchener's Armies" would have had that long start to begin with. We should have had, also, 500,000 citizen officers, commissioned and non-commissioned; the terrible problem of training our new armies would have been proportionately simplified. The problem of arms and munition would have been much simplified also. We should not have been commuch simplified also. pelled to send abroad a single man who was found able to do better work for the country at home; and it is difficult to understand how men who pride themselves on their democratic convictions can argue as Liberal papers constantly do, that the British democracy stands no chance whatever of solving a problem which presents no serious difficulties in Switzerland or Norway. We compel every boy to learn certain things at school; after that, we leave him to his own common sense. If the volunteer fighter does, in fact, enjoy all the superiority in war which is often claimed for him, we could easily leave the soldier as free after his short compulsory drill as we already leave the citizen after his short compulsory schooling. To argue, as some do, that six months of compulsory service would damp volunteer energies, is to fly in the face of actual evidence, from many countries and many times. Many of your readers will probably be glad to see how these points would be answered by Colonel Maude or the Secretary of the Arbitration League, who are valiant controversialists enough in the columns of friendly journals.

Yours, etc., G. G. COULTON.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

22 February 1915. SIR, -In his article in this week's SATURDAY REVIEW, on the subject of compulsory service for national defence, Sir Henry Craik takes his stand upon unassailable principles, and drives his conclusions home with unanswerable logic. He has shown, with great force, that the supreme duty of the State, in a great national crisis, is to use to the full, to meet any emergency that may arise, all the resources at its command, without hesitation or delay, and without any regard whatever for considerations other than those of the common weal, the public safety. No preconceived ideas as to the rights or wrongs of compulsory service must be allowed, for a single instant, to affect "the ultimate decision". If more men are wanted, more men must be found, by any and every means in our power, to the utmost limits of our fighting strength. With the whole trend of Sir Henry's argument I am in complete sympathy and agreement; and I think he will find on reconsideration that my proposal in the "Nineteenth Century" does not run counter in any way to the sound and sane principles which he has so ably expounded, and that it is not really open to the objections, from his own point of view, which Sir Henry apprehends.

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My proposal was, shortly, "to graft voluntary enlistment for service abroad upon obligatory national service for defence at home "; and Sir Henry thinks that this must be regarded as a "compromise" and "halfmeasure", and that "it is to be feared that, if suddenly adopted now, it would lead to hopeless uncertainty and confusion ". But I trust that on reconsideration he will agree with me that my plan has, at least, the merit of avoiding not only confusion of any kind, but also all the controversy and ill-feeling which a fuller scheme would, I believe, at the present stage, provoke. Also, I suggest to Sir Henry that, even from the point of view of the desirability of compulsory service abroad, my proposal might be welcomed as a "coign of vanmy proposal might be welcomed as a "old of values as a "half-way house", as the Saturday Review called it (6 February), than as a "half-measure", and as a stepping-stone rather than as a "compromise". It does not prejudice in any way the fuller plan he advocates. On the contrary, it leads straight towards it; and it would, "should need arise", afford a sound and sure jumpingoff place for the full assertion of the "necessary and
inherent power" of the State. I do not, of course,
admit for a moment that any such need would arise were my plan adopted. I am confident that the changed conditions of recruiting would act like magic; and that there would be, now and hereafter, no lack of trained and willing recruits for service abroad. But even if I were wrong, if the needed numbers were not forthcoming at the needed time, the State would by no means have "exhausted its authority". Quite the contrary. It would have simply paved the way for the fuller exercise of that authority. As it had compelled men to be trained to arms for national defence, so it could, "should need arise", with a stroke of the pen, compel those trained men to serve, in defence of their country, beyond our shores.

There would, of course, under my scheme, be an element of uncertainty, at first, while the success of woluntary recruiting hung in the balance; but the uncertainty would be anything but "hopeless". Behind it there would be the absolute certainty that, whatever happened, the State could always, in the last resort, assert its full authority, and ensure the public safety by "commandeering" every man under training. Meanwhile no time would have been lost. All the cruel distinctions and uncharitableness due to present methods of recruiting—the whole horrid system of compulsion masquerading under the guise of Voluntaryism -would have disappeared. No confusion whatever would have ensued. Indeed, order would have every-where prevailed—even in men's minds; and training -the predominant need-the training of every man fit to serve for whom Lord Kitchener was ready-would not have been delayed even for a single hour.

The whole machinery for carrying out my proposal would be practically identical, up to a certain point, with that for the fuller "ultimate" scheme which Sir Henry Craik advocates. Everything done towards the enlistment, training, arming, and equipment of the men would have been, from his point of view, so much to the good. The only question left in doubt would be as to the necessity of travelling a further stage. Would the trained man volunteer to fight in defence of his home and his liberty, or would he not? I contend that he would—willingly and gladly. There would be, under the changed conditions, no longer any shirkers. But, to make assurance doubly sure, "should need arise", the ultimate decision would still rest with the State. The remedy would still be in its own hands. Only—that remedy would have been rendered easier in its application. The men would all be there under hand and eye. The State would only have to issue its

I hope that Sir Henry Craik will reconsider his verdict on my proposal by the light of what I have said. I feel deeply convinced that mine is the only form of compulsion that can be considered, at present, "practical politics". Until it is tried and found wanting, no fuller scheme can be possibly brought forward. I have served in both the Regulars and the old Volunteers (as Adjutant), and I understand something of the different, and often curious, points of view from which men regard liability to serve; and I am as confident of this as I can be of anything yet unproved, that the present "shirker" so called, often misjudged and misunderstood, would be found no laggard in war, were the State to give him now the chance of his lifetime—the opportunity of serving in a Territorial battalion and of so being brought under the sane and wholesome influence of regimental life before being called upon to-choose! Many men, who now, in their short-sightedness, bless the present voluntary system, would end, when war was over, without their having been called up, by cursing that system till the day they died, and with it all those who, by clinging to a purely voluntary system, had denied them the chance, then gone beyond recall, of quitting themselves like men.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, T. A. CREGAN, Colonel.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW. 94, Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W., 22 February 1915.

SIR,-It is time that the whole question of defence of this country should be lifted absolutely above party politics. This can only be done by a thorough discussion of the subject, as is now done by the SATURDAY REVIEW. In the past both of the great political parties have been handicapped by the necessary appeal to the voters of the country, who have been apathetic if not antagonistic. The wisest course to adopt now is to let the dead past bury its dead and start afresh. As every aspect of the question should be studied, I will put forward a few ideas from a philosophical stand-

(a) Self-defence is a principle of Nature. Every organism has to protect itself against foes from without as well as from within. Life lasts only as long as this power is present,

(b) A State is in every respect a living organism, with differentiation of parts subordinated to the central unity. As such it has to comply with the law of self-defence,

(c) The self-defence which the State has to maintain can only be achieved by previous preparation and organisation.

(d) Failure to attend to the conditions of self-defence entails unpreparedness to resist outside attack, resulting in hurry, worry, and immense expenditure of energy that would have been avoided with foresight and organisation.

(e) To argue that the State must not use compulsion in self-defence shows want of thought, for the simple reason that the very existence of the State depends upon its right to compel the individual in all matters relating to the good of the whole. Thus the State lays down rules and regulations the infringement of which involves punishment for the individual offender. This coercion of the individual is the basis of liberty and well-being of the community.

(f) On what grounds, therefore, can any person in his senses oppose compulsory training of the manhood of the nation for self-defence against aggression? In the theory of the State there are no grounds. In the practical management of the State there are no grounds, for the State is constantly employing compulsion. We have compulsory education of the masses, compulsory insurance, compulsory payment of taxes, compulsory obedience to law and order. In short, all admit there must be compulsion in dealing with internal affairs, while in the one point involving life or death to the State the individual must not be compelled! Why? Because, forsooth, the individual is free! Were it not put forward in earnest by a certain section, one would think it was only meant for a joke by a cynic who entertained a very low opinion of the average intellect.

The conclusion of the matter is that the party politician cannot afford to look further than his nose-in other words, the next election. That is his strength and his weakness. The time has come to lift national safety to the higher level of national organisation, which involves realisation of the right and duty of the State to take proper measures for self-

> Yours, etc., ARTHUR LOVELL.

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ENGLAND OR BRITAIN.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

241, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, 23 February 1915.

SIR,-The great majority of your readers must be in accord with the reasons adduced and so fairly and logically expressed in your article that in default of a better and more comprehensive term, the word "England" must continue to be employed as a generic title for the United Kingdom There need be no confusion either, when and Empire. referring to England in a concrete sense. On the Legislative Union of England and Scotland in 1707 the style of the United Kingdom became, not "Britain", but "Great Britain", and so it continued until the Union with Ireland in 1801, when it became "Great Britain and Ireland", and in all Acts of Parliament and official documents the United Kingdom is so designated.

"Britain" is a term barbaric, anachronistic, and ethnographically misleading and inaccurate, and rightly pertains to Wales only. It is weak, vague, and meaningless, and fails to impress the imagination by its lack of weight and majesty.

For everyday use we must employ a short comprehensive title, and that title can be no other than "England", which although the name of that "little" country so termed by your correspondent, Mr. G. C. Thomson, is nevertheless the name of the vastly predominant partner which not only provides 92 per cent. of the sailors, and four soldiers in every five for the defence of the Empire, but contributes 95 per cent. of Revenue to the Exchequer.

I will not follow your correspondent, Mr. H. M. Cadell, into the causes which led to the Union of England and Scotland. It may be admitted that Scotland, like Ireland, was a troublesome neighbour, but one not beyond control. The foundations of our Empire were well and truly laid by Englishmen, but in its building up Scotchmen and Irishmen had a right to participate.

Mr. Cadell is wrong in asserting that the people of Canada are "mainly of Scottish, Irish, or French origin", for according to the last Dominion census the English, 2,000,000, outnumbered both Scotch and Irish combined. In Australia the English constitute over four-fifths of the population, and have no desire to be dubbed "Britons".

It is not clear by what authority Mr. Cadell presumes to speak for the English and Irish beyond seas.

I remain, Sir, Yours faithfully, HOWARD RUFF. Hon. Secretary, The Royal Society of St. George.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Edinburgh,

February 1915.

SIR,-I was glad to see your sound and refreshing article on the question of " England" as the one and only appellation for our country. The controversy rages up here in the Scotch papers periodically, and it needs a very small spark to set it alight. Of course the terms "Britain", "British", and "Briton" are practically meaningless, and are only employed by those Scotsmen who do not see farther than the end of their nose, through their intense jealousy of being ignored if included among the English. As I understand history, the Angles, from whom we get the word " English ". had their settlements chiefly in this part of the country, so that the Scotch should be far more English than we in the South, the Sassenachs, but they are too dour to understand The one great fact to note is that the whole of the outside world calls this country England and the inhabitants English. They have no word in French, German, etc., to express Britain and British. I need hardly say that "Bretagne" in French means "Brittany". I once tried to point out to a Frenchwoman that a certain man was an Irishman and not an "Anglais". She shrugged her shoulders and said: "C'est la même chose. Vous êtes tous si distingués ".

The moment a Scotchman gets away from his surround. ings he talks of "England" as his home, unless some brother Scot jogs him by the sleeve and whispers " Britain". In any public meeting here anyone using the word "England", even Lord Rosebery, is immediately howled at with shouts of "Britain". It would be comic if not so extremely childish.

In a furious correspondence which once raged in "The Scotsman" over the use of "England" by Alfred Austin in one of his poems, there appeared two gleams of intelligence, one writer entreating the editor to stop the con-troversy, because, as he said, "You will have the whole world laughing at us", and the other concluding his letter thus: "I am very proud of being a 'Scotsman', I am still prouder of being an 'Englishman'".

The "Revue des Deux Mondes" for 15 November last gives the following interesting remarks by Sir Thomas Barclay, a good Scotsman, who was the founder of the Franco-Scottish Society. It says: ". . . Mais il écrit à ce propos contre le particularisme écossais une page fort curieuse, qui ne nous paraît pas étrangère à l'intelligence de ses desseins: 'Il y a des Ecossais, dit il, dont l'orgueil se révolte d'être comptés pour de purs Anglais. Ils perdent bien vite des idées pareilles quand ils ont vécu quelque temps sur le continent et en particulier dans l'Europe orientale. L'expression moderne de "Grande Bretagne" reste sans force et n'évoque rien des grands souvenirs historiques. Le nom de l'Ecosse ne représente guère à l'étranger ignorant que des hommes en kilts, des lacs, des bruyères, des collines et Walter Scott, mais aucune grande entité politique. C'est l'Angleterre que le monde voit se dresser devant lui. Le roi, dont le nom a tant de prestige, n'est pas le roi du Royaume-Uni, ce n'est pas le roi de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, ni le souverain de l'Empire britannique; c'est le "Roi d'Angleterre", le plus grand titre historique du monde. Et il en est de même du nom de l'Angleterre en général, Ecossais et Irlandais peuvent être fiers d'être appelés Anglais; qu'ils s'attachent à ce nom, si fiers qu'ils puissent être de leur titre secondaire ' ".

Yours truly, ENGLISHMAN.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

15, Dudley Road, Wimbledon,

22 February 1915.

SIR,-May I thank you for your leading article of Saturday last? It is splendid in being so dignified, moderate, and convincing. The attitude you have taken up is held by the vast majority of people, including Scots, Irish, and Welsh, but they do not make their presence felt, as they are in full agreement with you.

For myself I may perhaps say that there are some, unfortunately, who seem to be strongly anti-England. know that such people organise themselves to make a combined attack on all who use the words England and English, in order to make the impression that the failing is universal. They cannot forgive England for having actually established by Parliament, long before the Union, the liberty of which we are so proud, or for the many centuries of glorious history of our Parliament and nation in the world, as they want the period from 1707 only to be considered. Then our Empire was established in India, Africa, America, and the foundations laid in Australasia before 1707. When we consider that Scotland and Ireland were not allowed to trade with it then, their attitude is rather uncalled for. Under the 1707 Act of Union England allowed Scotland to trade with the English Empire, but this privilege was not accorded to Ireland until 100 years later. respondent, H. M. Cadell, whose letter is on page 193 of your last issue, says that there has never been an English Empire. Some of the people appear to think that, as the Celts get a great deal out of the Empire now, they had in

We must not forget that while Lord Rosebery, Mr. Redmond, and Mr. Lloyd George are appealing to the Scots, s tous si surround. less some Britain" rd " Eng. d at with

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lrish, and Welsh to join the Army as Scots, Irish, and Welsh, certain people are attacking those who appeal to Englishmen as Englishmen, and interrupt meetings with the cry of "British". Do they attack Scottish, Irish, and Welsh meetings in the same way? The answer is obvious.

When they pick out the term "Great Britain" they have no more justification from the legal aspect than the mass who use the word England. In the strictest official sense both are wrong, yet people who speak of Great Britain as covering the United Kingdom are not attacked. It is the word England, quite apart from the question of treaty rights, that certain people want to get rid of.

In conclusion, may I say that I am quite sure that you will find the vast majority of people to be in full agreement with your article, but you will only hear from the other side. I am, yours faithfully,

J. L. CHAMINGS.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

22 February 1015.

SIR,-As an Englishman who has lived in Scotland for nearly a quarter of a century, I have taken considerable interest in your article on the use of the names "Britain" and " England ", and the correspondence connected with the same subject. Some of your remarks served as a relief for my own long pent up feelings. At the same time I do not agree with you in your main conclusion. Those who object to the use of the word "England" for the British Empire are not, as you seem to suppose, a few unimportant people. It is the opinion of the majority of Scotchmen, and certainly of the Scottish democracy; and there can be no question that the use of the term "Britain" (which really means a great deal to them) is strictly and legally correct. Therefore, I hold, sir, that you should use the term "Britain" where it is appropriate when you can remember to do so.

At the same time the Scotch should distinctly understand that the use of the word "England"—the fairest word to an Englishman in the English language—is not going to be suppressed where its use is appropriate to gratify any narrow patriotism across the Border. I once heard a speaker on a Glasgow platform howled at because he called the late Lord Salisbury "an English gentleman". What a howl there would be if one were to suggest that national names within the Empire should be discarded altogether, and that Scotland should henceforth be known simply as "North

Moreover, one would like to draw the attention of perfervid Scots to the fact that the use of the word " England " for the British Empire (though, no doubt, incorrect) is not confined to Englishmen, but it is the name by which the Empire is known, or at any rate spoken of, by friends and enemies all over the world. It was "England" and not "Britain" that was acclaimed in the streets of Paris or Petrograd at the opening of the war. It is "England" rather than "Britain" that is honoured with the hatred of Germany. And I would beg my friend the Scot to notice that this is historically due, not to the arrogance of England, but to the greatness of England. It is the flag of England that for a thousand years has braved the battle and the breeze. Only for a few centuries—very glorious, no doubt, but very few—has it been the flag of Britain. It was England, and not Britain, that founded in the old days those great traditions of freedom and democracy which became the wonder of the world. It was England that Shakespeare sung. It was England that Nelson loved, even to the extent of putting an unconscious insult upon Scotland in his last message to the Fleet at Trafalgar. I suppose most Scotchmen would forgive Nelson, and one would ask them to extend their forgiveness even to those later Englishmen who sometimes fall into the same error, which is in the nature of a splendid error. They should have patience under the circumstances. No broad-minded Englishman would ever dream of belittling the contributions of Scotland since the Union to the work and the glories of the British Empire. Scotland stands second to none in our brotherhood of nations. Nobody is more gloriously patriotic than the Scot; but it is a pathetic fact that patriotism of all virtues in the world should be peculiarly subject to an alloy of petty-mindedness. I cannot, however, really believe that Canada as a nation can be so indifferent to the glory associated with the old name of " England" as one of your correspondents asserts. I do not believe that the Canadians are so narrow or so ignorant of the history of the Empire as that would import; and I am all the less inclined to believe it because I notice that your correspondent belongs to the Clan Thomson, without a "p".

Yours faithfully,

ANGLUS IN SCOTIA.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

8, Park Avenue, Glasgow, W., 24 February 1915.

Sir,-I think perhaps the best answer to the extraordinary statements contained in your leader on "England" or "Britain" in your issue of the 20th inst., is the following extract from Professor Masson's "Edinburgh Sketches and Memories ", p. 141:

"Scotsmen have recently been complaining that literature has not even paid Scotland the poor compliment of remembering the fact of her union with England so far as to use the word 'Britain', then specially provided by law as the designation of the composite kingdom, but has gone on speaking of 'England' and 'English history' as if the linking of the smaller country to the larger had produced no change of fact worth commemorating by a change of name. The practice is as unscholarly as it is unconstitutional, and is a recent and violent departure from the established usage of the best English writers of the eighteenth century and the earliest part of the present."

I am,

Yours faithfully, JOHN S. SAMUEL.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

8, Kenilworth Court, Putney, S.W.,

21 February 1915.

SIR,-The article appearing in your issue of 20 February suggests that there is something unpleasantly new in using the word "British" instead of "English". An appeal to the poets convinces me that this is incorrect. At times when need of national unity was specially felt the wider term has been freely used. Wordsworth wrote how "Britain struggled and prevailed" at Waterloo; and, again, appealing to the men of Kent, that "In Britain is one breath", whilst the sonnet beginning "It is not to be thought of that the flood of British freedom", is surely notable. From the other side of the Border we have Burns writing to the Dumfries Volunteers, "Be Britain still to Britain true", and Scott in noble lines, rising above his own party feelings, speaks of the glorious fame of Pitt and Fox spread "through the British world". In later days, too, Meredith called on "our inviolate isle . . . this Britain". To quote Shakespeare for the opposition is scarcely fair, considering that Scotland was an independent kingdom for the greater part of his life, and, if he imagined Henry V. addressing Scots as English, his history was very bad, as they were then allies of France, and on their own account victors at the battle of Baugé at about that time.

It is further stated in your article that "Britain" is only a geographical term. This, perhaps, was true till recently. The same, by the way, was long said of Italy, but times change. In face of danger the different parts of the country have really united, and "Britain", I maintain, is now a word with national as well as geographical significance. That it is disqualified by its Latin origin or by the customs of its early inhabitants I fail to see. At that rate we must certainly cease to speak of "England" because of its German derivation, and because the Angles were horrid pirates who partly evicted a civilised and Christian population. "Briton" is a decent word for all those who would avoid the error of calling the whole by the name of one of its parts. Finally, sir,

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though the writer of your article may be excused for possible lack of love for "Rule Britannia", can he have been wholly deaf to the fine sounds of "The British Grenadiers"?

Yours faithfully,

WILLOUGHBY DEWAR.

THE WILL TO POWER.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

New University Club, St. James's Street.

SIR,—In the notice of Canon E. McClure's "Germany's War Inspirers: Nietzsche and Treitschke", in the Saturday Review lately, it is stated that "Shakespeare has described with amazing fidelity and power the true consequences of the Will to Power", and a passage from "Troilus and Cressida", quoted by Canon McClure in this connection, is cited—"Force should be right", etc. But Shakespeare's lines deal with the Power to Will, a different thing from the Will to Power. Of the latter he was a whole-hearted advocate, within the limits of public decency as then understood; of the former, when without self-control, he shows the consequences in many a wonderful page.

The confusion perhaps arises from a failure to bear in mind that "will", in Elizabethan terminology, is used in such passages to mean the movement of the natural passions (technically, the motions of the "sentient" as opposed to the "rational" soul), and this comes out clearly when the word is used, as it frequently is, in opposition to "wit", which, in that connection, means the rational intelligence. Examples of this, with some comments, are given in a book lately published by me on Spenser and Bacon (Constable & Co.).

Apart, however, from the specialised use of a word, the previous context clearly shows the meaning of the lines, which are put into the mouth of Ulysses as part of the famous discourse on "degree", described as "the ladder to all high designs", the removal of which brings down the power of States.

"Take but degree away, untune that string, And hark what discord follows!"

The speech is a homily against faction and the relaxation of social order, which alone, in the view of the writer, can be maintained—and the State so preserved as a power in the world—under a monarchic and aristocratic system of government. The lines in question deal with the results which may be expected to follow from the breaking down of such a system—certainly the last thing desired by the present rulers of Germany—and the "power" is the power of any individual, in the general confusion, to gratify his own appetites, to the ruin of public order and security. It is hardly necessary to say that Nietzsche's "Will to Power", immoral as it may be, is not this.

To us the German people present the appearance of being spiritually crude. Capable of great intellectual labour, they nevertheless seem, in some respects, to have the mentality of children, of which self-centred vanity and lack of a sense of proportion are normal features. They are prone, too, to conclude that ideas which find entrance to their minds as novelties are necessarily new, and that they are in some way taking part in their discovery. This much-vaunted doctrine, for instance, of the "Will to Power" is as old as the proverbial hills, and is to be found at the end of the fifth book of the "History" of Thucydides in a dialogue between the representatives of Athens and Melos which is a standing monument of public crime and folly.

None the less the Will to Power is a quality of the leaders of all enterprising nationalities, especially at certain stages of their development, as anyone may see in our own history by reading Bacon's essay on "The True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates"—an essay, perhaps, less adapted to the irregular Anglo-Saxon temperament than the more systematic Teutonic one. How the public motives there involved are to be reconciled with the Christian appeal to the individual (the issue which ultimately presents itself in all these discussions) is another question. But it must not be assumed from the naked paganism of this essay that

Bacon did not frequently find his mind touched by that problem. The characteristic paragraph at the end is, indeed, evidence of this, and I quote it for its interest at the present time:

"To conclude: no man can by taking care (as the Scripture saith) add a cubit to his stature in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance".

As this letter arises out of a quotation from Shakespeare, it may be of interest to note that he expresses the same view as Bacon does in the essay as to the policy of the offensive.

Bacon: "First therefore let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation; secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans. . . ."

Shakespeare:

"Rightly to be great
Is not to stir without great argument,
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw
When honour's at the stake".

" Hamlet ", iv. 4.

(It is clear from the context that a second negative is required in line 2. The meaning is: "Rightly to be great is not to stir only with great argument, but", etc.)

Finally, it may be of interest to your readers, at the present time, to recall what Bacon laid down, in an uncompleted work entitled "Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain", as six conditions of hegemony:

- 1. Fit situation.
- 2. Population.
- 3. Valour in the people.
- 4. "That every common subject by the poll be fit to make a soldier, and not only certain conditions or degrees of men."
- 5. A "temper of the government fit to keep subjects in heart and courage, and not to keep them in the condition of servile vassals".
- 6. Commandment of the sea.

I am, yours faithfully, E. G. HARMAN.

THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR.

To the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Sheffield.

SIR,—May I have the pleasure of thanking you for your paragraph about Sir E. Grey and Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg the other day?

But why compare the German Chancellor with Machiavelli, as both you and "An Englishman" in the "Daily Mail" do?

As sure as any conspicuous public person shows signs of moral decrepitude we straightway liken him to Machiavelli, ignoring that there were two Machiavellis—one of political genius and the other of moral deformity. Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg may be the latter of these. He may deserve to be classed with the morally irresponsible, but not with the politically pre-eminent.

Sir Edward Grey says in almost the same words as mine in my letter to the SATURDAY REVIEW of 29 August last that the same question regarding Belgian neutrality was put to France and Germany. France affirmed, Germany negatived. That is the Gibraltar fact against which all attacks of submarine sophistry or Dreadnought lies are directed in vain. It is the fact-rock of truth for future ages.

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES APPLEBY.

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REVIEWS.

BEAUCHAMP'S CAREER RECONSIDERED.

II.—THE POLITICAL SIDE.

"Beanchamp's Career." By George Meredith. Con-stable and Co. Standard Edition. 6s.

T is a useful test in classifying Liberals to ask what Dr. Johnson would have thought of them. To him, we know, some Whigs were "vile", and yet he was the noblest friend and antagonist of Burke, and his victorious judgment of human variety could perceive in Wilkes the agile companion of an evening's talk. may be certain that Johnson would have appreciated Meredith, and if the two could have met in Fleet Street we might have seen reproduced that combat between heavy Spanish galleon and quick light English ship which pictured the talk at the "Mermaid" between great Ben and Shakespeare himself. Meredith was a Liberal in his passion for nationality, as in the Italian books, and for freedom of thought, but the politician was always subordinate to the dramatist, and even his most political book is in no sense a tendency-novel. If the novels alone existed, it would be as easy to prove from them that Meredith was a Tory, or a Radical, as to prove from the plays that Shakespeare was, say, a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. Human nature was his stuff, and nicknames, traditions, groupings, even that god of our English idolatry, "the party" itself, were accidental trappings and properties. There is a curious passage in "Beauchamp's Career" in which he seems to regret that he neither writes happy tales of mystery nor chronicles the deeds of bread and cheese people. "My people are actual, yet uncommon. It is the dockwork of the brain that they are directed to set in motion-poor troop of actors to vacant benches!

But if the essential characters of his chief men and women dominate Meredith as he evolves his books, he has his favourite constructional devices, and they are apparent in "Beauchamp's Career". Setting himself to show his contemporary political England, he intro-duces among his minor characters types which recur again and again in our history, and are with us to-day. All Meredith's contempt for wretched wire-pulling is seen in his picture of Mr. Timothy Turbot, the expert platform speaker and leader-writer, and there is no more delightful account of canvassing than the story of Beauchamp and Lord Palmet visiting the burgesses of Bevisham in their own homes, the one seeking for votes and the other for beauty in wives and daughters. The irrepressible Palmet frankly regards politics as one branch of human amusement, and Meredith shows unsparingly the prejudices and narrowness and greed of the voters, who are the democracy taken in detail. Two of the most maliciously drawn characters are Cougham, the safe moderate Liberal candidate to whom Beauchamp's enthusiasms were only electoral dangers, who received the vote of Mr. Tripehallow because there had never the vote of Mr. Tripehallow because there had never been a word against his morals, and Grancey Lespel, the "suspended Whig" who lost his seat through Radical rivalry and was "profoundly chagrined by popular ingratitude". His wife knew something of practical politics. Talking to Cecilia Halkett of the verses that hinted at Beauchamp's love-affairs, she said: "My dear, they are a childish trifle. When my husband stood first for Bevisham, the whole of his University life appeared in print". The Tories do not escape Meredith's wit, as may be seen in the ponderous dogmatism of Blackburne Tuckham and in Captain Baskelett's emptiness of mind and uncomprehension of Baskelett's emptiness of mind and uncomprehension of reason, and it is very clear that the novelist found it easier to satirise both sides than to cherish faith in either party. "Indeed, though we admit party to be the soundest method for conducting us, party talk soon expends its attractiveness, as would a summer's afternoon given up to the contemplation of an encounter of rams' heads ".

It is Meredith's way to have one cool, wise intelligence among his characters who shall be critic and commentator and referee to the people of the book. The prime instance is Vernon Whitford in the "Egoist", but in "Beauchamp's Career" the honour is given to the Tory Seymour Austin. In relation to the drama of Beauchamp and Cecilia he plays a rather unheroic part as the advocate of Tuckham, whom in the end Cecilia quite unromantically marries; but in the political part of the book he is the true set-off both to Dr. Shrapnel's vehement Socialism and to Beauchamp's idealisation of democracy. Austin has nothing at all of the Tory who blows away his opponents in a gale of inarticulate fury, with "nonsense" and "rascal" as his principal parts of speech. He has, indeed, a proper contempt for the wiles of his opponents. "'Now we shall see the passions worked', Mr. Austin said, deploring the extension of the franchise". "Colonel Halkett subjoined abhorrently:-

'It well becomes the Whiggish tribe To beg the vote and wink the bribe.

Canvassing means intimidation or corruption'. Canvassing means intimidation or corruption. On the mixture of the two, called cajolery', said Mr. Austin; 'and that was the principal art of the Whigs'". But he sees clearly enough the power and passion that are in youth, and when Cecilia thinks that Beauchamp is too much of a political mystic Austin makes the wise and generous comment, "Many young men are, before they have written out a fair copy of their meaning". That is the first maxim: do not work the emotions till you have clarified your thought. How many of our sophisticated rhetoricians would be checked in their career by a coercive demand for that "fair copy of their meaning"! There is truth, significant to-day, in his reflection that cowardice is even worse for nations than for individual men, though the consequences come more slowly. He will not shut his eyes to party weaknesses or party sins, and those which beset Tories are to mistake numbers for strength, and to regard Conservatism as nothing more than "a fortification". He contrasts the two political philosophies: "Conserva-tism is a principle of government; the best because the safest in an old country; and the guarantee that we do not lose the wisdom of past experience in our struggle with what is doubtful. Liberalism stakes too much on the chance of gain. It is uncomfortably seated on half a dozen horses; and it has to feed them too, and on varieties of corn". Could there be a more vivid picture of our last decade of domestic politics? How well we know the half a dozen horses and the varieties of we know the half a dozen horses and the varieties of corn! Austin is admirable, too, on the inevitable inequalities among men, traceable often to past ancestry, and offering at least to the nation a diversity of vigorous types. "Your Radical friend, who would bring them to a level by proclamation, could not adopt a surer method for destroying the manhood of a people: a surer method for destroying the manhood of a people: he is for doctoring wooden men, and I for not letting our stout English be cut down short as Laplanders; he would have them in a forcing house, and I in open air as hitherto". It is worth noting that this philosophic mid-Victorian Conservative was a firm believer in new and higher destinies for women. "He saw more and higher destinies for women. "He saw more certain indications of the reality of progress among women than any at present shown by men". In that, we incline to think, he was more a Meredithian than an

we incline to think, he was more a Meredithian than an historic type. "Austin's a speculative Tory, and that's his weakness," observed the Colonel.

Nevil Beauchamp is one of the shining proofs of Meredith's genius. It would be idle to discuss his schemes for the regeneration of mankind. They are in limbo, but the man lives. He embodies the qualities which his creator loved most: birth, courage, chivalry, the genius of leadership, the spirit that protests against all shams and reaches after an ideal that must exist for him as truly as the unattainable and inexpressible him as truly as the unattainable and inexpressible beauty existed for Marlowe. Even in politics he sees the perfected nation, and even in journalism he scents the perfected nation, and even in journalism he scents the dawn. Only in actual battle, on land or with a gale at sea, does he ever experience moments of complete and harmonious life. Nevil is, in truth, an Elizabethan Englishman tied up and entangled in the humdrum problems and affairs of modern politics. He should have lived when men felt as Chapman wrote:

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"Give me the spirit that on life's rough sea Loves to have his sails filled with a lusty wind Ev'n till his sail-yards tremble, his mast crack, And his rapt ship run on her side so low That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air".

To his few kinsmen of the spirit Beauchamp would have been an inspiration, to his fellow politicians only a cause of alarm. He would have proved what Chatham once declared he would make himself: "a scarecrow of violence to the gentle warblers of the grove". In that slow-moving, honeycombed, intriguing world of politics Beauchamp could have met only disappointment and disillusion, and even the golden apples of Dr. Shrapnel would have turned to ashes in his mouth.

THE EMPEROR OF THE COCKATOOS.

"The Kaiser's War." By Austin Harrison. Introduction by Frederic Harrison. London: George Allen and Unwin. 2s. net.

WE have all learned, after six months of war, what the Prussianised German essentially is. Harrison can now address a disillusioned public who are more than willing to hear the truth to which they turned deaf ears a few years ago. If we go back to no more than three months before the war, how hard it would have been for Mr. Austin Harrison to persuade many good folk that Germans were enemies of the human race, pirates, braggarts, swaggerers, boasters, and liars, such as he portrays them in this book! But the incredible has become credible, and the Germans themselves have demonstrated it for us in six months of war conducted on the Machiavellian and mediæval principles which they have of set purpose reintroduced into modern Europe. But the transformation of the once human and normal Germany into an inhuman and monster Germany is still somewhat of an amazement and bewilderment, and next to our anxiety about the course of the war itself comes the curiosity of learning why we have been driven into such an appalling confrontation with a Germany which is not to be appeased except by our absolute downfall and annihilation.

The present generation will not be here when future philosophic historians describe the last half-century which has seen the founding and the apotheosis of the German Empire. We may best learn what has been going on by the personal experiences of our contemporaries who have lived and reflected in Germany on the extraordinary social, moral, literary, military, and political phenomena which for many years have been there presented. Mr. Austin Harrison is one of these contemporaries. He was educated in Germany and lived there as a journalist eight years. The question is, does he describe the phenomena truly? If he does, the certainty of Great Britain, France, and Belgium having to fight for their lives had come to be in the very nature of things. The phenomena, as Mr. Harrison saw them, and explained them to a British public slow to believe, long before the war, were that Germany had resolved to conquer Europe, and especially to destroy her greatest object of hatred, the British Empire; that all her thoughts and preparations, military, naval, and diplomatic, had this object in view, and that Europe and the British Empire would inevitably have to fight for independent existence.

Even in our present state of feeling and knowledge of Germany and the Kaiser some of Mr. Harrison's statements come with a shock of surprise. For example, as to the Kaiser; he declares that, with the admiring assent of Germany, the Kaiser made known his wish to make Berlin the gayest and most "vicious" city in Europe, and the Germans felt that their young Emperor was indeed German in virility and a "fair knock-out". In another place he declares that "to turn Berlin into a bawdy-house of cosmopolitan dissipation was one of the avowed aims of the Kaiser". A rooted conception of British people for years has

been that the Kaiser, ever since he became a family man at least, is pre-eminently religious and moral in the conventional sense. Not only so, but he seemed to represent, above all, the religious ideal of a Divinely appointed and inspired sovereign reigning over a God. fearing nation. Why did we not hear from the various cosmopolites who burned incense to the Germans that this people had become the most coarsely sensualist, brutal, cruel, arrogant, and swaggering nation in the world, and that their whole national aim and purpose had crystallised into the one idea of over-coming Europe by ruthless military strength? We believe Mr. Harrison's description of the "pathological mental condition" of the German people since they entered on their victorious career in war, and their unexampled success in peace, is near the truth. The events of the last six months have made it credible and intelligible. And one may know how misleading the glorification of the German intellect and character by our enthusiastic and innocent cosmopolites has been without living amongst the Germans, from a fact noticed by Mr. Harrison, which any educated man may learn for himself. Since the Kaiser came to the throne thirty years ago no great German artist, writer, musician, thinker, poet, painter, sculptor, or philosopher has appeared, those whom we recognise as notable belonging all to the former generation, the generation of German humility. The latest historian of thought in the nineteenth century, Mr. Merz, supports this statement. Our more passionate pro-Germans have been—well, very much mistaken; or they have been suppressing the truth: we think they have been the former.

Mr. Harrison calls his book "The Kaiser's War", but "The German People's War" would have been just as good and accurate a title. The Allies need have no qualms about inflicting on the German people whatever suffering of starvation or otherwise may be necessary to beat the trash and bumptiousness out of them -to use Mr. Harrison's expression. There is no depth of human misery, nor degree of horror of life, or death, which the German people have not deliberately and exultantly contemplated inflicting on other nations in realising their dream of European and world hegemony. Not a party, not a class, nor a section, nor a profession, hardly an individual, but has abandoned itself to the intoxication of this dream. sense it is one of the most impressive factors in history that a nation of seventy millions should have thrown itself heart and soul and devoted itself as one man, or rather as an army, to the accomplishment of so mighty a conception. We do not accept Mr. Harrison's statement in one place that greed and envy alone are the ruling motives of the astounding popular German ambitions. His own account of the complex of influences acting on the German mind, such as belief in the overwhelming superiority of the Teutonic race, physically, intellectually, and morally, contradicts it. His comparison of the Kaiser with the crusading Richard Cœur de Lion, and his people with those who went mad over the Holy City and Sepulchre, is much better. The wonder about the German people is that they are really capable of a faith and an ideal while most nations have no faiths and no ideals; unless they have one now: that of resisting the German ideal, or going down before it in complete defeat and subjection. "Unser Kaiser" was, and is, adored because to the German people he seemed to embody history as they saw it and to be an assurance of realising their modern ambitions. He was the true "Prince in He combined the romance of shining armour". mediævalism with the effective frightfulness of Krupp's high explosives. That he hated Great Britain and had dreamed ever since he came to the throne of her downfall to make way for the chosen German nation was what made him most of all German. Kaiser and people have reacted on each other; and if it is the Kaiser's war, it is so mainly in the sense that the people have left to him the choice of the fateful "Day knowing that his popularity and worship would cul-

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together. They have gloated coarsely, brutally, and arrogantly over the supposed degeneracy of other peoples and proclaimed urbi et orbi a scientific and religious right ultimately to govern the world system from Berlin. German vanity, vainglory, and vulgarity had begun before the Kaiser came to the throne, but he has done nothing to restrain them. just his own characteristics; and the Kaiser and his people sang pæans to each other. He gratified his own vanity and theatricality in encouraging the megalomania of his people. If they were the chosen race, he was its leader; the "Cockatoo Emperor" of a me to the shouting, bullying, coarsely assertive and conceited cockatoo people. Mr. Harrison describes the Panst, writer, or philo-German as the greatest idiot in Europe, and the Germans generally as politically the most ignorant. One ognise as ation, the needs the explanation to account for those misconcephistorian tions of themselves and other nations which have ferz, supbrought Europe to war. All their politics ultimately nate promeant war; and it was sufficient politics for them to believe their war machine equal to the conquest of aken; or Europe. They sacrificed themselves and their liberties

27 February 1915.

to it enthusiastically, for they were to get thereby "the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof". Like Faust, they sold their souls to the devil. Even the three million Socialists abandoned their own aims and delivered themselves to the Teutonic dream of universal dominance, Once they had aimed at plundering their own possessing classes; but to join all classes of their countrymen in plundering and ravaging the non-Teutonic world was a still bigger idea and the

minate when he threw the dice. Whether or not he

deliberately encouraged the abnormal sexual immorality

which is at present an object of special attention to the

Berlin Police, it is certain that his German personality, affectedly and theatrically exaggerated, over-stimulated

the political, social, and personal vices of the Germans into the rank growth of ambitions whose obsession

will only be broken down and dismissed from their

minds by some disciplinary calamity. The Kaiser and his people have revelled in an orgy of self-glorification

Kaiser captured them with it.

WITH HAVELOCK AND OUTRAM.

"Letters from Persia and India, 1857-1859." By the late General Sir George Digby Barker, G.C.B. Edited by Lady Barker. Bell. 7s. 6d. net.

HE story of the Indian Mutiny has been often and ably told; yet the editor of this volume has done well in giving us the first-hand record of an actor in it. The letters which Sir George Barker, then a young officer in his twenty-fourth year, wrote home to his mother and sister were not written for publicity; they were intended, even as those of many another subaltern before and since, first to assure his family of his continued existence, and second to give them some idea of the scenes and dangers amid which he had been moving. The writing of a series of long and careful letters in the midst of an exhausting campaign need surprise nobody, though Lady Barker thinks it will. In all probability half of Barker's brother-officers were equally good correspondents. But while their letters may have been destroyed, or may still be slumbering in old bureaus, chance has brought his to light. Their publication, however, can scarcely fail to give keen satisfaction to General Barker's surviving comrades and friends, to all connected with the old 78th Foot, once "The Ross-shire Buffs", now the Seaforth Highlanders, and to all who delight to read of the glorious achievements of the British Army.

Sir George Barker passed away quite lately, full of years and honours. Yet, though he was almost constantly employed, and occupied many important posts, it was the far-away Mutiny which afforded him at once his great opportunity of distinction and his most crowded, momentous and engrossing hours. In this correspondence we see him living those hours to the full, and bearing himself with the courage, endurance, and modesty of a true man and soldier. His style is plain and unassuming, without the slightest spice of rhetoric. It almost astonishes one to find an eye-witness of some of the worst horrors of the Mutiny writing of them with so much restraint. Yet simplicity has a force of its own; and it required men of such self-control, who could not be broken by the most shocking sights, but rather were nerved by them to supreme efforts, to crush the rebels.

At the moment when the Mutiny broke out young Barker was just back from the Persian expedition, an affair of great hardships and little glory. His health had suffered, and he was not in good trim for further had suffered, and he was not in good trim for further campaigning; but will-power triumphed over sickness. He served with Havelock's column from first to last, and save that once or twice fever laid him by the heels for a few days he was an effective fighter throughout. In this book, therefore, we get a business-like account of the achievements of that column, from the battle of Futtehpore to the capture of Bareilly. We see their victory at Cawnpore turned to grief and horror at what they found there, emotions soon merged in a stern determination to avenge the victims of the massacre; then the relief of the Residency at Lucknow, after which the relievers were themselves besieged, till the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell's troops redressed the balance. That great leader seemed to redressed the balance. That great leader seemed to Barker a man of mystery, unapproachable, is even styled "a bear". Outram and Havelock impressed themselves far differently. The death of Havelock, following hard on the safe withdrawal of the beleaguered garrison of Lucknow, moved him deeply. And who is not the richer for being reminded of the chivalrous action of Outram, "the Bayard of India", who in the advance on Lucknow waived his rank in favour of Havelock, because of the latter's exploits, and "in gratitude for and admiration of those brilliant and "in gratitude for and admiration of those brilliant deeds of arms accompanied the force in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer"! There is a sublimity in this abnegation of self which it would be hard to match in military annals. There came a moment when Barker was in friendly rivalry with his superior officer. friendly rivalry with his superior officer. It was at the relief of the Lucknow Residency. "The 78th", he writes, "were ordered to the front, and with Sir James Outram leading the way we hastened through the streets followed by the Sikhs, at every turn encountering a fresh volley and being fired on from the houses or either side, and now and then peppered with grape. At the end of half a mile the large gates of the Residency appeared in view, and the tops of the houses inside were covered with the waving caps of the garrison who were cheering us on. They had not expected us quite so soon, and some delay took place in opening the huge gates, seeing which Sir James Outram made for the embrasure, I followed close behind him, and being on foot and he on horseback I managed to get in before him. . . . As I went up the hill inside, my hand was half shaken off by the delighted garrison ". Great days, those, in the history of our country, great though very tragic.

TOWARDS TRUTH IN HISTORY.

"History of Gravesend." Vol. I. By A. J. Philip. Stanley Paul. 12s. 6d. net.

WHEN a man writes the history of his native town or village he performs an honourable task with little hope of reward. Local patriotism is a rare thing in this country, and, when it appears, is usually despised. The mayor is, maybe, too familiar a figure in his shop to inspire a high thought when he mounts the platform in robes and chain of office. The museum, with its collection of antiquities and dust, is, perhaps, best known as a refuge from the rain when the hotel bar is the only alternative shelter. We do not write here of Gravesend, being quite ignorant of its habits and mentality, but the remarks apply to many places of neither less nor greater station. Mr. Philip, however,

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by limiting the publication of his book to less than four hundred copies, hints that he knows how few will appreciate his scholarly work. Yet it might well be otherwise, and it would be better. Those who write the history of the great world are often only reshuffling the cards in a pack which has been well thumbed, and the combinations and permutations are not inexhaustible.

The older historians, whose work was a record of great deeds and lives, were largely in the right, since they took a world-empire or, at least, a kingdom for They were not, as Dr. Johnson said, their parish. mere makers of almanacs, though Malebranche was not without reason in calling them chroniclers of gossip. From Tacitus to Michelet and Macaulay they may all have been liars, but it is certain that they never lied so thoroughly as when their picturesque imagination led them from villains and heroes to generalisations about periods and peoples. It is just here that the local historian becomes more than locally important. It passes the wit and learning of all our great men to tell us what is, or was, the temper of England in any given era, reign, or single year. There are cross-currents, shifting clouds, fitful bursts of sunshine, but there is no clear stream or settled weather. Of Gravesend, on the other hand, one can speak with a show of certainty. Here, for instance, is a letter written in that district by Raleigh to Robert Cecil in 1594 to inform him "how little her Majesty's authority is respected, for as fast as we press men one day they run away another, and say they will not serve". This, be it marked, in the grand Elizabethan days, the age of Shakespeare and the sea-dogs; but who would deduce its origin from the common stock of general knowledge? More and more books like this must be written if we are to have the accurate history of the English. We have seen things in a lump, and the attempts at analysis have failed, but the synthetic method has not yet been properly tested. Of course, we may find that, when the towns and villages and counties have been added together, we can make neither head nor tail of the picture, or it may seem like a big body without a spirit, but it is the inevitable task of the historians of to-day and to-morrow. If they fail, there will still be Tacitus and Michelet and Macaulay for refreshment and alluring

Whatever the merits of the rival methods, it is at least plain that Mr. Philip is on the right track when he asks his readers to abandon some of the rough assertions which too often are advanced as axioms. Text-books are apt to generate strange idea. The loose use of such phrases as "the Stone Age", "the Bronze Age", would frequently suggest that they began and ended as abruptly and definitely as the reigns of Victoria and Edward VII., whilst the perverse notion that four centuries of Latin civilisation went for nothing because Roman legions were succeeded by Saxon pirates seems ingrained in the minds of many fairly serious students of English history. If the local historian does nothing more, he at least teaches us to avoid these spacious pitfalls. In the streets of his own town he cannot well miss his way even in the track of his own pet theory. He cannot gainsay the flint and bronze dug up together in his neighbour's garden, though, if he went further afield, he might divide ages, nations, and the universe into cubicles for the reception of his assorted notion. Truth dwells in small spaces. One may say what one will of a Prime Minister or a god, but one must be careful in speaking of the mayor and clergyman.

THE HANDMAID OF THEOLOGY.

"Ontology, or the Theory of Being." By P. Coffey. Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

N recent philosophy there is a decided tendency towards the spiritual view of man's nature and the universe as against the positive, scientific, and physical or mechanist view. There have always, of course,

been Christian metaphysicians who accepted philosophy as the handmaid of theology, but Protestantism has no systematised a Christian philosophy as it has been systematised for Roman Catholicism by scholasticism. It is rather hard to see why this should be so The separation of the two Churches of Rome and Eng. land would account for the scholastic philosophy as it stood, say, with St. Thomas Aquinas, not being received by Protestants. Yet on reading this book on the scholastic metaphysics, by the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Maynooth, it seems to us that comparatively few omissions would make it as suitable a metaphysical text-book for Protestant students of philosophy and theology as for Roman Catholic. Professor Coffey prays in aid of the doctrine of transulstantiation certain views of the scholastic metaphysic. Otherwise there is very little, if anything, in his presentation of the relations of metaphysics and theology which the student who prepares for theology by reading Butler or Paley would find incongruous. And this, at any rate, may be said of this book, that, whether one finds the scholastic metaphysic convincing or not, as a system, it is an unrivalled introduction to metaphysical terminology, ideas, problems, and their exposition. We mean for the student who has not a first-hand fami-

liarity with Aristotle and Plato.

The scholastic philosophy has been neglected, except amongst Roman Catholic philosophers and theologians. since Descartes or, we may say, since the Reformation, more because it was the official philosophy of the Church than for any other reason. We believe it would be true to say that all the philosophies that have had their day since Descartes, and down to Bergson, have not led to any substantial addition to or subtraction from the scholastic doctrines as they were left by St. Thomas Aquinas. When one recalls the history of philosophy, ancient and modern, as the ever changing and largely contradictory views of man and the universe, one marvels at the claims made for it to the unique possession of truth by Professor Coffey and his brethren who expound the scholastic philosophy. These claims have no parallel but that other made by their Church to be the depository of the truth of theological doctrines. Of the philosophy, Professor Coffey says in his introduction: "There is one philosophy which is in complete harmony with Revealed Truth, and which forms with the latter the only true Philosophy of Life; and that one philosophy is the system which, assimilating the wisdom of Plato, Aristotle, and all the other greatest thinkers of the world, has been traditionally expounded in the Christian schools-the scholastic system of philosophy. . . . It cannot boast of the novelty or originality of the many eccentric and ephemeral 'systems' which have succeeded one another so rapidly in recent times in the world of intellectual fashion; but it has ever possessed the enduring novelty of the truth, which is ever ancient and ever new". This claim narrows the area of the influence of the philosophy to those who accept Christian theology (in the shape of Roman Catholic dogma), and practically it becomes the philosophy of one Church. Looked at simply as a philosophical system, it takes its place amongst systems of realism-the moderate Realism of Aristotle and the schoolmen, as Professor Coffey says, is assumed in his book throughout. We are not aware, however, that this is a doctrine for which proof by Divine revelation can be claimed, and in this respect the scholastic philosophy is in no more favourable a position than other philosophies. It is a matter of very uncertain speculation, insusceptible of demonstration, and without any controlling test, unless the Church announces it as a necessary theological belief. We may remark, however, that the scholastic philosophy does not quarrel with modern science more obviously than some of the philosophies which are quite uncontrolled by theological dogma. In Bergson, for example, many things are said of time and space, in criticism of scientific theories, which have a surprising similarity to the scholastic doctrines, though the methods are radi-cally different. Scholasticism is a system of intellectual

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concepts, supplemented by revelation; Bergsonism is a rather mysterious instinctive intuitionism or æstheticism which discovers spirit, but has no definite answer to the questions of God and the human soul.

The present volume will supply a want that is really felt by students of philosophy in our universities: the want of an English text-book on general metaphysics from the scholastic standpoint. The common belief about scholasticism is that it is nothing but a museum of mediæval notions that have lost all connection with the thought of modern life, and which is bound by theological prepossessions to deal insincerely with philosophical and scientific theories. What most of us have heard of it is, that the schoolmen filled volumes with frivolous discussions on impossible puzzles, and refined portentously on verbal definitions. Professor Coffey admits that once on a time there was some truth in this, and the reader will see possibilities in this rolume that the tendency may still exist in other branches of scholastic philosophy not included in the present book. Curious problems are suggested which enable us to understand the sort of phantasmal speculations into which the old schoolmen were led. however, the student will find that the substantial issues of scholastic philosophy are still debated in our own day and are still unsettled in later and fashionable philosophies.

LATEST BOOKS.

"African Adventure Stories." By J. Alden Loring. Allen and Unwin. 6s. net.

Mr. Alden Loring, as a member of Mr. Roosevelt's African apedition, is able to relate a number of personal adventures with great beasts as well as putting on record others which, if qually exciting, are less well authenticated. Though his own task was connected only with the smaller mammals, and in the speech of the native camp followers he was called somewhat derisively "The Mouse-Master", the author did not miss density in a more master, the chance of running into danger on several occasions, and lions, hippopotami, and elephants now and then studied him at close quarters. Every line of his book is readable, though to the naturalist it may come as a disappointment that a writer of the naturalist it may come as a disappointment that a writer of Mr. Loring's experiences should have chosen to set them forth in a series of avowedly "popular" articles and stories. Yet, whatever may be said on this point, it is undoubtedly refreshing to open a book in which can be found a first-hand account of acharging lion—" the most noble and at the same time the most awe-inspiring sight imaginable". Whether for the learned or for the common herd there is only one way of recounting an experience of that sort. Of an elephant's onset, Mr. Loring writes: "One can never tell what will happen until it is all over."

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Memories of Forty Years." By Princess Catherine Radxiwill. Cassell. 16s. net.

Princess Catherine Radziwill has anecdotes of court and society England, Russia, and Germany. She has met in her time many interesting personages, but her recollections of them are not of the kind which can be used even to dot an "i" or cross a "t" in history. Had she been a diarist her book would probably have been of greater importance, but, as it is, it stands rather as a collection of nebulous impressions interspersed with a few incidents which have been kept in mind owing to their comical character. The Princess, for instance, tells us in three pages why she does not consider Gladstone to have been a great statesman, but gives us no idea of him that could not have been gleaned from a well-informed Conservative journalist of the period, and then continues to narrate two mildly funny stories of his wife, for neither of which she can vouch. How much of her chronicle is written from personal knowledge and how much from the amiable or spiteful gossip of diplomatists, politicians, and their women, we are not told, but a good deal of it reads like the backstair column in some weekly paper of the Snippety-Bits order. Sixteen shillings instead of a penny probably represents the difference between anonymity and the author's title.

"Told in Gallant Deeds." By Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. Nisbet. 5s. net. Among the many books written to meet the demand for information about the war, one at least has taken into consideration the needs of a child's mind. The questions of Peterkin and Wilhelmina are still pressing, but, happily, Mrs. Belloc Lowndes can answer them more clearly than was possible for old Caspar. Quite rightly she begins by saying something of the causes of the European conflict, before passing to a record of some of the gallant deeds which have already been inscribed on the roll of honour of the allied nations. In many cases it will be found that the tales of heroism have been linked with noble incidents from the wars of the past, showing how the soldiers and sailors of to-day are worthy successors to the

mighty men of old. Grim and horrible as is the struggle, the author has, we think, succeeded in showing that there is more than frightfulness in the present campaign and that the spirit of the happy warrior is alive in the armies fighting for liberty and country. Mrs. Belloc Lowndes' story of the war has been written with a thorough understanding of children as well as with a just appreciation of the honour of arms. It is not a "jingo" book nor a book of hatred for any race on earth, but it is inspired with a fine patriotism and with a love of fair play. it is inspired with a fine patriotism and with a love of fair play.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Hermaia (Colin McAlpin). Dent. 10s. 6d. net.

FICTION.
The Making and Breaking of Almansur (C. M. Cresswell). Chatto.

Gs.
The Intruder (Harold Bindloss). Ward Lock. Gs.
La Belle Alliance (R. Grey). Smith, Elder. Gs.
Peter Paragon (John Palmer). Secker. Gs.
What a Man Wills (Mrs. G. de H. Vaizy). Cassell. Gs.
The Highway (L. G. Moberly); Whom God Hath Joined (Arnold Bennett); Hungerheart. Methuen. Gs. each net.
Within the Tides (J. Conrad). Dent. Gs.
Brunet's Tower (Eden Philipotts). Heinemann. Gs.

TRANSLATIONS.

The Philosophy of Hegel (Douglas Ainslie), 7s. 6d. net; Kabir's Poems (Rabindranath Tagore), 4s. 6d. net. Macmillan. Letters of Sidonius (O. M. Dalton). 2 vols. Oxford University

Press. 3s. 6d. net each.

TRAVEL.

Lands Forlorn (George M. Douglas). Putnam. \$4.00 net.

MISCELLANEOUS. Adelaide Drummond (Basil Champneys). Smith, Elder. 10s. 6d.

Arabia Infelix (G. W. Bury). Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net. Correspondence of Jonathan Swift (F. E. Ball). 2 vols. 10s. 6d.

Field Notes from the Russian Front (Stanley Washbourne). Melrose. 6s. net. Introduction to the Science of Ethics (T. de Laguna). Macmillan.

7s. 6d. net.

Iva (Sir George Birdwood). Medici Society. 12s. 6d. net.
Old Calabria (Norman Douglas). Secker. 15s. net.
Old Court Life in Spain (F. Elliot). 2 vols. Putnam.
Paris Waits, 1914 (Mrs. E. Clarke). Smith, Elder. 5s. net.
Russia and the World (Stephen Graham). Cassell. 10s. 6d. net.
The Human German (Edward Edgeworth). Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.
War; Its Conduct and Legal Results (T. Baty and J. H. Morgan).
Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

INSURANCE.

THE LEGAL AND GENERAL.

WITH the appearance of life assurance reports for rg14 evidence accumulates that the more prominent offices had not up to 31 December last been seriously affected by the outbreak of a great European war in which this nation had to take an active part. Less known concerns seem to have been somewhat severely hit, losing no insubstantial part of the patronage they previously received, but the really popular offices, the Legal and General Life Assurance Society included approach to see the second s Society included, apparently experienced no great difficulty in practically maintaining their usual output of new assurances. Naturally the accounts of these specially favoured offices reflect in some particulars the effects of new conditions, but it is manifest that the burden so suddenly placed upon them was much lighter than was originally supposed. The Legal and General, although not quite so prosperous as in some years, was nevertheless able to report excellent results at the con-clusion of its year's work. The report submitted at the annual meeting on Tuesday showed that about 900 fewer policies were completed—namely, 4,505, against 5,401 in 1913—but, on the other hand, the sum assured by these policies was only trivially smaller, and there was no notable reduction in the volume of the new premium income obtained. When the assurances for twelve months amount to £2,920,213 gross, or £2,736,063 net, and the relative new premiums are found to have totalled £157,159 and £150,901 respectively, one does not need to be told that a fair average year's work was performed. Of course, the famous Fleet Street office has done better than this in some years. Its operations were on a more extensive scale in 1909 and 1913, but they were somewhat smaller in the intervening years, 1910, 1911, and 1912, when other adverse factors militated against great success.

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In another way, too, it is possible to take a measure the past year's results. In 1909—an exceptionally of the past year's results. favourable period for business-the total net premium income increased by £99,122, to £748,970; in the following year by £43,324, to £792,294; in 1911 by £54,983, to £847,277; in 1912 by £64,161, to £911,438, and in 1913 by £74,558, to £985,996. For last year an increase of £69,824 has now been reported—an amount which had only been exceeded in two out of the previous five years. The report further shows that the sum added to the constantly growing funds was larger than at most times. Taking the same six years for comparison, the accounts show that the funds increased by £602,340 in 1909, by £626,330 in 1910, by £733,087 in 1911, by £697,016 in 1912, and by £780,399 in 1913, whereas a gain of £700,233 is now recorded. In this respect, also, the operations of the period were therefore of a highly satisfactory character, and a like remark most certainly applies to the average rate of interest earned on the funds, which was £4 10s. 3d. per cent. before deduction of income tax, against £4 10s. 1d. per cent. in 1913, £4 5s. 6d. per cent. in 1912, and an average of £4 6s. 4d. per cent. throughout the 1907-1911 quinquennium. All these rates, it should be mentioned, are calculated on the total of the three funds (life, general, and proprietors) excluding the considerable amount and proprietors), excluding the considerable amount invested in the purchase of reversionary interests, and

do not therefore represent the exact rate realised on

the life assurance fund alone, which is only made

known when the valuation schedules are published.

The rates given are, however, approximately correct, and it can be taken for granted that the society nearly maintained its previous fine record, even when allow-

ance had been made for the increased income tax which

had to be paid as a war chest provision. Only in one direction, indeed, does the Legal and General appear to have so far been severely hit by the war. Prior to 1914 the mortality experience of the society had constantly proved most favourable, but the current report indicates that a good many of its policyholders assured for large amounts had lost their lives before the year ended. In this respect the figures now published are unquestionably significant, and it is by no means certain that any profit was obtained last year from suspended mortality. Altogether the claims on the life assurance fund amounted to £548,369, inclusive of £115,883 paid as bonus additions, and these totals compared with £369,195 and £50,033 in 1913, and with £323,997 and £70,681 in the preceding period. Moreover, the deaths reported numbered 252, against $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ 187 and 189 in the two earlier years respectively, and only 168 in the last year of the recent quinquennium. The presumption is, therefore, that up to 31 December the war had caused this fine old society the loss of some sixty of its members, and something like £180,000 in actual cash. This is a high price to pay for exceptional liberality in the treatment of policyholders, but the future history of the society will probably show that the losses which now have to be endured are really a good investment. When peace endured are really a good investment. When peace comes offices like the Legal and General are certain to obtain more support than ever before.

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the writes—"I have found 'Seldenite' most satisfactory, and
will order more when required."

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Churchmen, of every political party, are earnestly invited to continue their support of the CENTRAL CHURCH COMMITTEE, so that it may be in a position, when national conditions permit, to launch an effective campaign for the repeal of the Act.

Cheques (crossed Messrs. Hoare) may be sent to the Secretary at the Offices of the Committee in the Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

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tess may invest in the inscripce Stock under the power of the Act, 1893, muless expressly probidden in the instrument creating the Trust.

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If not previously redeemed the Loan will be redeemed at par at the Bank of England on the 1st April, 1925, but the Gowern ment reserve to themselves the right to redeem the Loan at par, in whole or in part. by Drawings or otherwise, at any time on, or after, the 1st April, 1920, on three months' notice having been given by public advertisement of such intended redemption.

By the Act 40 & 41 Vict. ch. 59, the Revenues of the Colony of Queensland alone are liable in respect of any Stock created in exchange for Bonds of this Issue and the Dividends thereon, and the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom and the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury are not directly or indirectly responsible for the payment of the Stock or of the Dividends thereon, or for any matter relating thereto.

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Applications, which must be on the special printed forms, will be received at the Chief Cashier's Office, Bank of England, and will be accorded preferential allotment.

A) BONDS.

Holders of Bonds must lodge such Bonds with their applications and must surrender at the same time the relative Coupons due the 1st July, 1915.

Definitive Receipts will be given in exchange for Bonds lodged for conversion. These receipts will in turn be exchangeable, on or after the 26th March, 1915, for Scrip Certificate to Bearer, with coupon attached payable the 1st April, 1915, representing a full quarter's dividend at 4 per cent. per annum on the existing holding, accompanied by a cash payment of 1 per cent., being the difference between the issue price of the new Loan and the redemption value of the Bonds surrendered.

An per cent., being the difference between the issue price of the new Loan and the redemption value of the Bonds surrendered.

Scrip Certificates will be exchangeable in due course for Bonds of the new Issue free of charge; or they may be converted at any time up to the 15th April, 1915, into a like amount of Inscribed Stock on payment of 10s. per cent. to defray the additional charge for composition of transfer stamp duty.

(B) INSCRIBED STOCK.

Holders of Inscribed Stock may surrender their existing holdings, in whole or in part, in exchange for a like amount of Inscribed Stock of the new Issue, and a sufficient amount of the Bonds will be set aside and converted into Inscribed Stock to meet the applications of such Holders.

Stockholders who convert into Inscribed Stock of the new Issue will receive, in respect of the amount of Stock converted, a cash payment of 10s. per cent., being the difference of £1 per cent. between the issue price of the new Loan and the redemption value of the Stock surrendered, less the sum of 10s. per cent. required to defray the additional charge for composition of transfer stamp duty on the new Stock.

Holders of Inscribed Stock may convert any portion of their holding, being a multiple of £100, into Bonds of the new Issue, in which case they will receive the full cash payment of £1 per cent. in respect of the portion so converted.

A full quarter's dividend at 4 per cent, per annum, due the 1st April, 1915, will be paid in respect of Stock converted, and warrants therefore will be issued in accordance with the existing arrangements for the payment of dividends.

CASH APPLICATIONS.

Applications, which must be accompanied by a deposit of £5 per cent., will be received at the Chief Cashier's Office, Bank of England.

In case of partial allotment the Balance of the amount paid as deposit will be applied towards the payment of the first instalment. Should there be a surplus after making that payment, such surplus will be refunded by cheque.

The dates on which the further payments w

The dates on which the further payments will be required are as follows:—

On Thursday, the 18th March, 1915, £9 per cent.;
On Tuesday, the 6th April, 1915, £85 per cent.
In case of default in the payment of either instalment at its proper date, the sum or sums previously paid will be liable to forfeiture.

Application forms may be obtained at the Bank of England (Chief Cashier's Office), or at any of the Branches of the Bank; of Messrs. Mullens, Marshall and Co., 13, George Street, Marsion House, E.C.; of Messrs. R. Nivison and Co., Bank Buildings, Princes Street, E.C.: or of the Agent-General for the Government of Queensland, 409 and 410, Strand, W.C.

The List will be closed for Cash Applications, on or before Wednesday, the 3rd March, 1915, and for Cannession Applications at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 10th March, 1915.

Bank of England, London, 26th February, 1915.

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HARROD'S STORES.

The 25th annual general meeting of the shareholders of Harred's Stores, Ltd., was held yesterday on the Company's premises, Brompton Road, S.W. Sir Alfred J. Newton, Bt., the dairman, presided.

samman, presided.

The Secretary (Mr. R. H. Griffith) read the notice convening has meeting and the auditors' report.

The chairman, in moving the adoption of the report and seconds, said in the present year the insurance and the insurance for attention health remained at the same figure. Rent, rates, and water, £49,050, showed a decrease of £1,564. It would be interesting to shareholders to know that the electricity are lighting and power consumed at Brompton Road was generated by the Company on the premises, and at a price which may be a substitute of the company of the premises, and the price with a same statistic company. The amount of electricity generated was a south of the company of the company of the company of the company of the price of the company. The amount of electricity generated was same and the Brompton Road block came entirely from the company of the company o

steed to. The routine business was then transacted.

SELFRIDGE & CO.

THE annual general meeting of Selfridge and Co., Ltd., was held on Tuesday at Oxford Street, W., Mr H. Gordon Selfridge

(Chairman and Managing Director) presiding.

The Chairman said: Our sixth annual report is before you, showing a net profit of £134,701 4s. 2d., to which must be added the amount carried forward from last year's accounts, added the amount carried forward from last year's accounts, £16,396 1s. 3d., making a total of £151,187 5s. 5d. Out of this we have paid £18,960 for Debenture interest and £32,337 for Preference dividend, and we propose to make the following appropriations: £25,000, being 5 per cent. dividend on the Ordinary shares—the same as last year—to be paid subject to deduction of income tax; £20,000 in reduction of preliminary expenses, £8,000 to depreciation of fixtures and fittings, and £6,000 to writing down investments, leaving £40,800 to be carried forward. This amount is £24,000 more than last year, and is equal to a full year's dividend on the Preference capital. expenses, £8,000 to depreciation of fixtures and fittings, and £6,000 to writing down investments, leaving £40,500 to be carried forward. This amount is £42,000 more than last year, and is equal to a full year's dividend on the Preference capital. You will observe from the report that, in addition to the depreciations charged as working expenses, we have also appropriated from January, 1912, to date upwards of £155,000 out of profits to betterment, and I think you will agree that, seeing we have been establishing a new business, this is very satisfactory. While reasonably pleased with the year's results, it is hardly necessary to add that except for the extraordinary conditions since 181 august the profits would have been considerably higher. Of course, our returns for 1914 have been much larger than for any previous year, and our gross profits for the twelve months were, in volume, largely in excess of those of the preceding of any former year, but our efforts during the months of the war have been more concentrated on "carrying on" than in closely scrutinising our expenses. During all the difficult months of last year we made no arbitrary dismissals, reduced no salaries and required no unusual holidays or absences from duty. This action has been taken with eyes wide open, and would be repeated if the matter were again to come up for decision. Our percentage gross profits has been interfered with somewhat by the business we have done with the War Departments of this country and our Allies, which, while by no means great in amount, has been carried through at a very small gross profit and in many instances at actual cost. Again I repeat this policy has been adopted with entire knowledge of what the result would be, and we have no reason to regret such decision. Our stock on than decision, and the result would be, and we have no reason to regret such decision. Our stock of the first profits of the such as the profits of the such as and is equal to a full year's dividend on the Preference capital.

The report and accounts were adopted and dividends declared as recommended.

An extraordinary general meeting was held, at which a reso-lution was passed conferring power upon the directors to borrow money to the extent of the issued share capital of the company for the time being.

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